

Racism  
and the  
"L-word"

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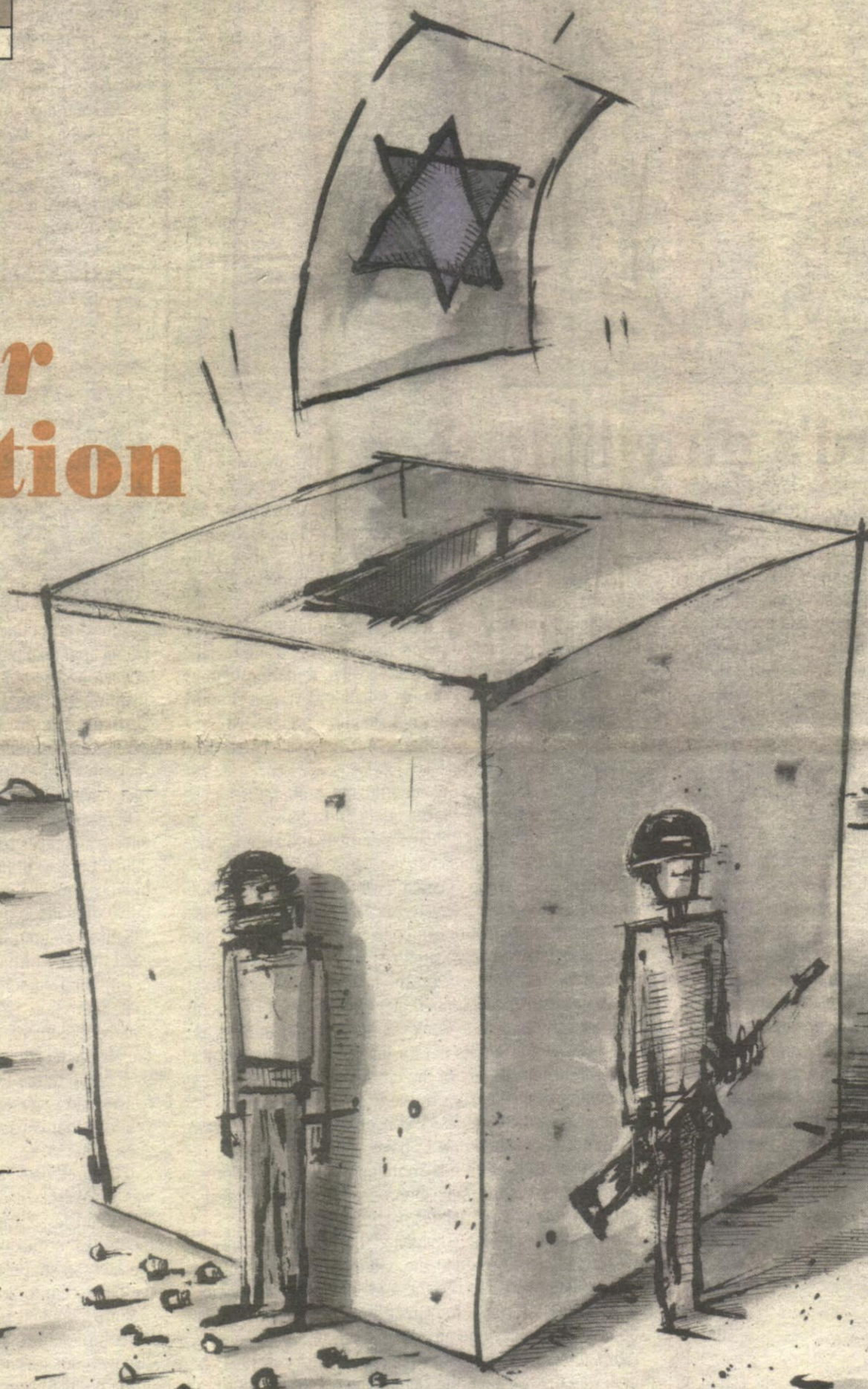
# IN THESE TIMES

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## The Other Election



Israeli vote could alter  
the future of two peoples. **page 3**





## The L-word's dirty little secret

By Salim Muwakkil

CHICAGO

Public discussion of race and politics may have faded with the exit of candidate Jesse Jackson, but the issue has not faded. Instead, the race factor has become the dirty little secret of the 1988 election—and the political Stealth Bomber of the Republican Party. George Bush's exploitation of racial fears is one of the primary reasons he leads Democrat Michael Dukakis in the polls.

This crass strategy was tipped in July when various Republican mouthpieces began denouncing the Democratic ticket as a "three-headed monster" following the Atlanta convention. The Republicans denied any racist intent, but it was clear to all that the monster metaphor was fitted for Jackson's head. "We were concerned about spotlighting Jackson as a liberal, not as a black," explained Illinois Gov. James Thompson, the moderate chosen by Republican leadership to float the "monster" phrase.

But Bush's subsequent campaign strategy demonstrates that "liberalism" has become the preferred euphemism for the "race factor". "When Republicans use the word 'liberal' as a curse, they're telling whites—especially white

males—that blacks do not deserve special treatment and will not get it if their party is elected," contends Vernon Jarrett, black columnist for the *Chicago Sun-Times*. "Why else would white blue-collar workers support the flagrantly anti-labor policies of the Republicans?"

When Republicans recite the litany of liberalism's failings, they prominently include issues with strong racial components: affirmative action, busing, welfare programs, federal job programs, criminal rehabilitation and support for civil rights. Seldom do they mention Social Security, Medicare, the GI Bill or other more widely accepted fruits of liberalism.

**Racial parties:** "To my constituents, a liberal is a person who supports the blacks, plain and simple," explains William Krystyniak, a Chicago alderman and Democratic candidate for the Illinois Senate. "Quite frankly, that's why Dukakis is having such a hard time attracting support in my neighborhood." Krystyniak's candor is not surprising for a Chicago politician; open racial antagonisms have roiled this heavily segregated city at least since the election of its first black mayor, the late Harold Washington.

The alderman's continued identification as a Democrat is a bit surprising. The Cook County Republican Party is aggressively casting its net for disaffected "white ethnics." Several former leaders of the city's famed Democratic Machine changed parties in the wake of Washington's triumphs, and the process has been repeated in many rust-belt cities where blacks have gained increasing electoral clout. If those trends continue, some analysts predict, big-city politics may soon degenerate into contests between "black" and "white" parties.

There is considerable evidence that this polarizing trend is being repeated at the national-party level. Many trace this development to the mid-'60s, when the Democratic Party—through the Great Society programs of Lyndon Johnson—became an active supporter of the civil rights movement. Johnson's landslide victory in 1964, in fact, was the last time the Democrats won the majority of white votes.

Since then—through the campaigns of George Wallace, Richard Nixon-Spiro Agnew, Ronald Reagan and George Bush—political code words have been used effectively to court those turned off by the Democrats' agenda of racial equality.

**Jesse's pitch:** "Goldwater made 'states' rights' a code word. George Wallace made 'busing' one. Spiro Agnew's 'the silent majority' was a signal," explained Jackson in a recent speech. Jackson said Nixon used "law and order" as a code word and Reagan uses "national security." He said "increased military spending" is actually a code for "don't let those Third World, non-white nations push us around anymore."

The former Democratic candidate, who has upped his decibel level in recent days, said an entire generation of young Americans is being taught that "to grow up liberal is to be dirty, inadequate, un-American or subversive. There is something dangerous about that."

Jackson strongly defended liberalism's many achievements in the racial arena and raised a strong note of concern about Bush's tactics. "Despite the enormous civil rights gains of the past three decades, even the rawest forms of racism persist," he said. He noted that in the first six months of this year racial incidents against blacks were recorded in at least 20 states, and said such incidents had increased by 400 percent since the start of Reagan's reign.

"Something is happening in our country that saddens my heart," Jackson said. "It is frightening: overt racial aggression against blacks, overt anti-Semitic acts, class rejection of the poor and exploitation of women workers." Despite this, he added, "we have the nation's vice president running for president on the proposition that civil liberties are subversive."

Jackson's assertion of a resurgent racism is disheartening. After all, it was his candidacy that provided optimists with hope that racism may have loosened its grip on the U.S. electorate. "Jackson's candidacy represented the possibility that race-based appeals could be transcended

## INSIDE STORY

in American politics. That's what made his campaign so promising," explained Robert Borosage, a top Jackson adviser and senior fellow of the Washington, D.C.-based Institute for Policy Studies, a left-leaning think tank.

**Safire's thesis:** Borosage is less certain about Bush's exploitation of racist sentiment than are some others in Jackson's camp. Still, he said he recognizes the power of racial symbolism to provoke powerful political passions. "There's no doubt that Republican strategists realize how effective appeals to racism are," Borosage noted, "and it's difficult not to utilize whatever works." He cited a piece by *New York Times* columnist William Safire as representative of many Republicans' thinking.

Safire's column in the paper's October 13 edition argued that the turnaround in Dukakis' support started during the Democratic convention. In the days leading up to it, Safire noted, Dukakis led in all polls by approximately 10 percent. At the time, the public still perceived the Massachusetts governor as Jackson's political foe. But by the end of the Republican convention those polling figures had reversed. Something happened between conventions that caused a lot of minds to change, Safire argued.

"For three days, all the American people saw and heard was Jesse Jackson," Safire wrote in the *Times* column. "What did Jesse want? See Jesse and his family. Watch the 'troika' of Dukakis-Jackson-Bentsen make up.... Watch the Jackson supporters, who were telecast as if they filled the hall, seem to dominate the convention."

Safire's implicit point is that a majority of white Americans turned away from the Democratic Party once they discovered it was serious about involving black Americans in the political process. Like others of his ideological persuasion, the conservative columnist seemed not at all troubled by this race-based reaction. Rather, he counted it as a Dukakis blunder.

The acceptance and exploitation of indigenous native American racism is not a strictly partisan affair. Dukakis' flight from the liberal label is a form of acquiescence to this pernicious feature of our national life. His headlong quest for "Reagan Democrats" ignores the race factor as a component in Reagan's popularity. When he fails to challenge Bush on the code-word issues, he lends to them an unnecessary credence.

By not speaking to the hidden but pervasive racism factor, this country's political leadership allows its perpetuation.

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By Joe Lockard

JERUSALEM

**T**HE INTIFADA, OR PALESTINIAN UPRISING, will be almost one year old by November 1, the day Israelis will go to the polls and decide which candidates from 27 parties will fill the Knesset's 120 seats and which major party—Labor or Likud—will lead them over the next four years. The *intifada* has affected the campaign's content and tenor, and, in turn, the campaign has affected the situation in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

Just as their economies are intimately bound into a "binational economy," Israel, the West Bank and Gaza today constitute a single body politic. Much of the election controversy centers around the degree and extent to which these bonds will be either loosened or strengthened. It's an open question, however, whether Israel's parliamentary system is still capable of deciding the question of trading land for peace. Extra-parliamentary forces—settler groups from Israel's fundamentalist right and the Palestinian *intifada*'s underground leadership—increasingly appear poised to provide political impetus after the election.

**Intifada images:** As in the U.S. presidential campaign, a good TV campaign is the ticket to electoral success, and the *intifada* is a perpetual theme on the evening broadcasts here. By campaign's end, an estimated 98 percent of voters will have watched the numerous state-sponsored and officially monitored campaign commercials.

"The *intifada* has appeared in every piece of propaganda broadcast so far," says Mattiyahu Peled, Knesset member for the left-wing Progressive List for Peace. "The Likud advocates using brute force to put it down; Labor says that a political solution is necessary to put it down. 'These elections mean nothing for the Palestinians. Whatever constellation of power arises will have the same immediate policy toward the *intifada*.'"

The Likud coalition's TV campaign begins with the slogan: "Personal security!" The message is clear to those whose car windows have been broken by Palestinian-thrown rocks during the past year. A vote for Likud means "personal security" when driving in the West Bank and Gaza.

Likud's advertisements suggest that more Jewish settlements on the West Bank and Gaza are appropriate responses to the *intifada*. Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir calls for using live ammunition against rock-throwers, and Likud's campaign manager, former Defense Minister Moshe Arens, has demanded wide use of the death penalty, mass expulsions and a range of exemplary penalties.

Such right-wing pressures, plus internal army demands, generated a strong response from Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin, a member of the Labor Party. In September he authorized the use of plastic bullets against Palestinian demonstrators. For several years plastic bullet stocks had been imported and then manufactured locally. Rabin's decision to begin using them did not result from a changed tactical situation, but from a campaign-generated need for a tough-line image. He could not afford to be tagged by the Likud with a "softy" label.

Thus the dozen-plus Palestinians killed in recent weeks by plastic bullets might aptly be described as victims of Israeli electoral violence.

## The Israeli election's big shadow



What happens next in the Occupied Territories? The Israeli vote may answer that question.

The *intifada* has provoked other campaign tactics that play on anti-Palestinian attitudes even within moderate sectors of the Jewish electorate. The Labor party has emphasized

the "demographic problem" involved in retaining full control of the Occupied Territories. One campaign video opens with pictures of Palestinian schoolchildren ("nice,

clean ones," according to a Labor public relations official) and then cuts to a Jewish circumcision ceremony, intoning, "He may be born into a minority in the Land of Israel."

**Transfer solution:** A cruder message comes from the new right-wing Homeland party, headed by former Gen. Rehavam Zeevi (inappropriately nicknamed "Gandhi"). Its single-plank political platform answers the "demographic problem" this way: expel the Arabs. The party, which may succeed in entering the Knesset, Israel's parliament, with a seat or two, represents the growing political legitimacy accorded to the "transfer solution," which was once confined to the socially less-acceptable Kach movement headed by Rabbi Meir Kahane.

On October 5 the Central Elections Committee banned Kach from the elections. It found that the movement's philosophy was "racist" and "anti-democratic" under the terms of a law passed after the last election. Israel's High Court of Justice last week upheld the validity of the committee's decision. The Homeland party, essentially a home-grown version of the Kach ideology imported from New York, easily survived the committee vote.

The Homeland party differs with Kach in only one major way: instead of advocating immediate forceful expulsions, it proposes diplomatic negotiations toward a "peaceful" Arab population transfer.

But Kach spokesman Baruch Marzel criticizes the Homeland party's approach, saying, "They'll discover what Kahane already knows—the Arabs won't get up and leave peacefully." The Homeland party may capture the votes of those who are inclined to agree with Kahane's theses but are repelled by his blatant racism.

Israelis have grown more receptive to this message in recent years. A 1983 poll found 22 percent of the Jewish public agreed with the statement, "I support those working to make the Arabs leave Judea and Samaria." By 1986 the same poll registered 38 percent support for the same statement. A 1987 poll indicated 69 percent of the Jewish public wanted either annexation or permanent Israeli control of the Occupied Territories.

### PLO may be waiting until after vote to make its move

The Palestine Liberation Organization's (PLO) major anticipated response to the *intifada*—the declaration of an independent state and a government-in-exile by the Palestine National Council (PNC)—may be postponed due in part to the November 1 Israeli election. Reports indicate that the Soviet Union and Egypt have successfully pressed the PLO to delay any such declaration, at least temporarily, because it is believed that the move would boost the conservative Likud party's election chances.

Salah Khalaf, the PLO's second-ranking officer, has sought to delay such a declaration, describing Labor as "more progressive," while PLO head Yassir Arafat recently stated in Cairo that "when the PNC convenes, it will take into consideration not what goes on in Israel, but what goes on for the good of the Palestinian people."

Israeli and American elections may provide a diplomatic excuse for postponing the declaration because Arafat

and the mainline PLO are concerned about internal Palestinian unity. But strong opposition to this step has been voiced by, among others Naif Hawatmeh, leader of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine.

In the West Bank and Gaza Palestinians say that the *intifada* will continue no matter what the election results, even possibly entering a fresh growth phase should a post-election hard-line policy be initiated by a right-wing government.

An Israeli Defense Forces (IDF) intelligence evaluation released two weeks before the election made headlines when it said that the PLO had instructed its operatives inside the Occupied Territories to refrain from inaugurating a new stage of armed attacks until after the election. According to the head of IDF's Southern Command, Gen. Yitzhak Mordecai, weapons caches have been found in Gaza, and Palestinians' recent use of grenades and large bombs there indicates that attacks will escalate soon. —J.L.

### The *intifada* has affected the campaign's content and tenor, and, in turn, the campaign has affected the situation in the West Bank and Gaza.

One recent private survey of the West Bank and Gaza rabbinic leadership found 62 percent favoring forced transfer and 13 percent desiring the encouragement of voluntary Palestinian emigration.

The "transfer solution" has strong support from others in the ultranationalist right. Tehiya (Renaissance) party Chairman Yuval Neeman, for example, has demanded the immediate expulsion of at least 1,200 Palestinian administrative detainees. Tehiya has

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By Joel Bleifuss

## To the streets

The Contragate Action Team of Boston marked the eighth anniversary of the alleged arms-for-hostage deal between the 1980 Reagan-Bush campaign and representatives of Iran's Ayatollah Khomeini by sponsoring a demonstration in front of Bush's Massachusetts headquarters. The group is petitioning Rep. Peter Rodino (D-NJ), Chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, to open an investigation into the purported deal. The 200 or so people who attended the October 19 protest were met by pro-Bush counterdemonstrators. "It was very intense," says protest organizer Elizabeth Cori-Jones. "There was a little name-calling. One person said they wanted to line us up and shoot us. There were shouts of 'Commie Jews go back to Israel.' Some just said, 'Combies go back to Russia.' Others called us homosexuals. I'm sad to say that some of our people saluted them with an uplifted straight arm." Cori-Jones says one of the most photographed demonstrators was a guy in a Khomeini mask who carried a sign reading, "George was with me." The Contragate Action Team is planning to hold similar protests each Wednesday and is asking people in other cities to do the same. The group suggests that demonstrators wear blindfolds to "signify both the hostages' captivity and the media's inability to see the story," Cori-Jones says. On the other side of the country, the October Surprise Action Group of Arcata, Calif., is promoting the idea of tying yellow ribbons around signposts and trees until the media stops holding the story hostage. According to Cori-Jones, publicizing the allegations by mass action is absolutely necessary since the mainstream press "seems very interested in putting [the story] down. We think it is now up to the people."

## El Salvador here we come

Photojournalist Neal Cassidy became the first American journalist to be shot by Israeli troops while covering the *intifada*. On October 18 Cassidy, who works for Impact Visuals of New York, was hit by a plastic bullet in the right leg when Israeli soldiers fired without warning into a group of unarmed Palestinian demonstrators in the West Bank town of Nablus. Some Palestinians took Cassidy to the local hospital, where he shared a room with a five-year-old boy, Dia Jihad Fayed Haj-Mohammed, who had been shot in a separate incident. Hit in the liver, stomach, spleen and lung, Haj-Mohammed was not expected to live.

## Hey big spender...

The new federal programs George Bush has said he will implement as president would cost taxpayers far more than those proposed by Michael Dukakis. According to an analysis by the *Baltimore Sun*, Bush's plans would require \$9.95 billion in additional revenue while those new programs advocated by Dukakis total only \$2.2 billion.

## Skullduggery

In the dark of night at Fort Sill, Okla., a "mad expedition" set out on its mission "to bring to the T [the 'Tomb'] its most spectacular 'crook' the skull of Geronimo, the Indian chief who had taken 49 white scalps... An ax pried open the iron door of [Geronimo's] tomb, and... [Prescott] Bush entered and started to dig. The skull was fairly clean, having only some flesh inside and a little hair." But that proved no problem to graverobbers who quickly cleaned it up with some carbolic acid before sending it back to their Yale clubhouse. This is the gist of an account of an alleged graverobbing by the father of the vice president. The story appears in *Skull and Bones—History of Our Order*, a 1933 internal publication of the Yale University secret society. Paul Brinkley-Rogers of the *Arizona Republic* reports that this history, along with a photograph of Geronimo's skull as it is displayed in the inner sanctum of the Skull and Bones clubhouse, was leaked to Ned Anderson, former chief of the San Carlos, Ariz., Apache Indians. In 1986 Anderson tried to arrange a meeting with the vice president, who has been a Skull and Bones member since 1948, to discuss returning the skull. That meeting didn't come off, so Anderson approached Bush's brother Jonathan, another member of the secret society. After a series of meetings with Jonathan and Endicott Davison, the Skull and Bones attorney, the two turned over a skull. In return Davison asked Anderson to sign a contract that said the former Apache chief agreed that it would be "inapprop-



**Morning in America:** "Cockroaches At Dawn," a performance art composition by Chicago's Robert Metrick, will be featured at Randolph Street Gallery in Chicago on November 11. Metrick's work will be the last in a series of election-oriented performance and video evenings held at the gallery. This "election art" event, titled "Bedtime Stories," explores the past eight years of Reagan's rule and the various cultural trends it has wrought.

## Lockheed workers' top-secret sickness

Workers at the Lockheed plant in Burbank, Calif., who claim to be involved in construction of the Pentagon's top-secret Stealth fighter, are sick of getting sick. The workers are seeking \$50 million in damages from the company. They claim Lockheed has used the "classified" nature of the project to weaken occupational safety standards, and has knowingly exposed workers to a host of toxic substances.

The problem for workers is that the top-secret nature of the project prevents them from fully discussing their work with their doctors and attorneys. Furthermore, because of the top-secret status of their workplace, they are not even sure what chemicals they've been working with.

Floyd Ivie is one of those workers. Ivie says he wakes up every morning with a nose full of blood. Throughout the day he has a belching sensation

and a metallic taste in his mouth. While he admits that he's not deathly sick, he is worried.

Attorney Timothy Larson, who is handling the workers' suit, says employees' symptoms vary. Some feel a tingling or numbness in the hands and extremities. Others suffer from memory loss. Yet others complain of shortness of breath and respiratory problems. There have also been several cases of cancer among the plaintiffs, five of which have resulted in death. The common denominator, says Larson, is they've all worked in the classified construction areas on the Stealth fighter.

Larson paints a horrific picture of the top-secret hangars, which are off limits to anyone without a federal clearance. He says thermometers in the poorly ventilated buildings hover around the century mark most of the summer, and in one hangar reached 131 degrees on a particularly hot day. He says prior to the suit, the air was not filtered, workers had no safety equipment—and sanding, spraying and drilling went

on in the same area. Furthermore, he says, the company failed to post material safety data sheets, designed to inform workers what materials they are working with. Even when provided, the safety sheets may only identify chemicals by a trade number, keeping their actual contents a secret. The company says it does this because the substances are classified. Larson says that workers are concerned with both the immediate effects of exposure and what may happen to them down the line. "Twenty years ago they would have told you that asbestos was fine. We simply don't know the latency period of many of the chemicals."

As for what is going on in the hangars that are the target of the workers' complaints, Lockheed issues a terse, "No comment." Says Lockheed spokesman Richard Stadler, "Lockheed is involved in a number of classified projects, none of which we are allowed to talk about." The areas, though, he says, "meet federal safety standards."

—Timothy Stirton



## Cancer treatment controversy

One of the most difficult decisions many women face is the choice of a medical treatment for breast cancer. In recent years many prominent authorities, such as Dr. Vincent DeVita of the National Cancer Institute (NCI), have recommended that women with breast cancer have a lumpectomy (or partial mastectomy) in conjunction with hormonal, radiation and/or chemotherapy, rather than the once-preferred radical mastectomy. While it is true that the less-extensive operation yields cosmetically superior results—a major consideration in our image-fixated society—questions remain about the experiments and statistics that underpin the shift to lumpectomy.

Despite the contention of Dr. Bernard Fisher of the University of Pittsburgh that "there is no difference [in mortality]...between those patients who had a radical mastectomy and those who had a lesser procedure," careful analysis of the available data indicates otherwise. Long-term follow-up studies conducted by Dr. Cushman D. Haagensen, author of the definitive *Diseases of the Breast*, show five- and 10-year survival rates of 84 percent and 65 percent, respectively, for patients who have had a radical mastectomy.

In contrast, a 1980 National Institutes of Health (NIH) consensus conference estimated five-year survival rates of only 45 percent for women undergoing surgery alone and 65 percent for women undergoing surgery in combination with post-operative chemotherapy. Further, as with most available NIH/NCI studies, no effort was made to distinguish between patients undergoing lumpectomy, modified radical mastectomy or radical mastectomy. The apparent unwillingness to make these distinctions suggests that the five-year mortality rate for women who have had a lumpectomy rather than one of the more extensive operations may be even higher than that indicated by the numbers in the 1980 survey.

When promoting lumpectomy the NCI, through its press releases, stresses the cosmetic and economic drawbacks of mastectomy. Problems of hair loss, weight gain, continual nausea, additional expense of treatment and lost work time due to chemotherapy (often administered in conjunction with lumpectomy in accordance with NCI "advisory bulletins") are not addressed.

Ten-year survival rates for NIH/NCI studies are not generally available. This lack is a result of the belief held by Fisher and many other prominent cancer researchers that "the failure rate between the fifth and the

tenth year is really quite low." But Haagensen notes that "Bacless, the great master of modern radiotherapy," had a 60 percent five-year survival rate, but a 10-year rate of only 30 percent.

Despite the NCI's regular claims of progress in the war on cancer, the overall mortality rate for those women diagnosed with breast cancer has not improved for more than 40 years. In fact, the NCI's own figures show that the incidence of and mortality from breast cancer has increased in both of the last two years. Haagensen believes that this increase is coincident with the shift to lumpectomy, the increased mortality figures representing women who had lumpectomies more than five years ago.

When questioned about Haagensen's contention earlier this year, on the occasion of an NCI circular recommending "adjuvant chemotherapy, hormonal therapy, or both following primary treatment," public information officers would say only that it would be inappropriate to respond on the basis of these particular studies, as that was not the question considered in them. Those women with a personal stake in this may well wonder if the NCI has given serious thought to funding studies that consider this question.

—Fred Little

## Water, water everywhere...

FRANKFURT, WEST GERMANY—It is 27 yards deep, 27 yards high and covers 18 acres. It is Europe's largest household garbage dump, located in the town of Dreieich, south of Frankfurt.

The first-ever analysis of the 20-year-old dump, made public in September, found PCBs, lead, furane and "extraordinary concentrations" of dioxin. These toxins threaten to leak into local ground water, making Dreieich the latest example of the long, slow chemical pollution of West Germany's water supply.

BUND (German Federation for the Protection of the Environment and Nature), the country's biggest environmental group, says the decay of water quality has now reached the point where up to one-third of the nation's drinking water could be hazardous to human health.

While the rivers and streams take in 76.5 million cubic yards of industrial and household effluents daily, the ground water is steeped in agricultural chemicals and runoff from some 40,000 garbage dumps and abandoned factory sites.

Encouraging the damage is the country's center-right government, which has a laissez-faire attitude about water pollution. Bonn favors industrial self-regulation and an agricultural policy that promotes intensive pesticide and fertilizer use.

Dreieich's toxins—which critics charge stem in part from illegally

dumped industrial waste—have yet to turn up in area water supplies. But like many landfills, Dreieich poses more of a long-term than an immediate danger. Over decades its poisons can seep out through the dump's porous walls and into the local ground water that flows northwest under densely populated Frankfurt suburbs.



Once underground, this water would likely mingle with some of the 30,500 tons of pesticides sprayed annually on fields and gardens and along roads. Each year runoff from 2.1 million tons of nitrogen fertilizer also enters the water supply.

There are no national studies of ground-water pollution. Bonn insists the issue is a state problem, so only piecemeal data is available.

Tests last summer by the southwestern state of Baden-Wuerttemberg found that in 35 percent of 300 potable water springs, pesticides were present in amounts above limits set by standards due to take effect in 1989. Most common of those was Atrazin, a suspected carcinogen.

Bavarian testing in the agricultural district Unterfranken found 70 percent of its ground-water supply overloaded with nitrates, a by-product of nitrogen that in humans can cause cancer or hinder red blood cells from carrying oxygen.

The scope of pollution is fated to

increase as pesticides, which have been spread on the ground since intensive chemical farming began in the '60s, slowly filter through the soil, accumulating in ground water and seeping into lakes and rivers.

Jurrie Huizenga, general manager of the International Organization of Rhine Waterworks, says the pollution poses a health and economic threat to 20 million people in the six countries served by that association.

For years Rhine Waterworks has mixed relatively dirty filtrate, or river water filtered through soil, with relatively clean ground water in order to make purification easier and cheaper.

With the inexorable flow of pesticides and nitrates into the water supply, the cost of producing potable water will rise steadily and significantly.

In the Rhine the most common pollutants are chloride and sodium from salt and coal mining and sulfate from industrial wastewater. But exotic toxins crop up often enough to compete with the bulk pollutants.

For two weeks in September, for example, the Dutch waterworks Rijn-Kennemerland was forced to stop taking Rhine water and to switch to reserves when the West German chemical giant BASF dumped 227 pounds of a carcinogenic herbicide in the river.

But waterworks spokesman Albert Schaafsma wasn't phased by the spill. "It happens two or three times a year," he said.

—Marcus Kabel

riate for you, me or anyone in association with us to make or permit any publication in connection with this transaction." But Anderson refused to sign the paper. And he returned the skull to Bush and Davison. The eye cavities and the nose hole were wrong, said Anderson. They "did not match those in the photo of the skull I had."

## Child of God

Then there is Dan Quayle—George Bush's insurance policy against impeachment. In his campaign biography Quayle says he is a member of the Bible Presbyterian Church of Huntington, Ind. According to Ron Curran, writing in the *L.A. Weekly*, the flock of Bible Presbyterian meets each Sunday in the home of Stan and Millie Cope. Millie, who leads the services at the church, says that originally she belonged to Huntington's United Presbyterian Church, but she switched to Bible Presbyterian when she "began to notice references in their literature that suggested ties to communism." Bible Presbyterian is an affiliate of the International Council of Christian Churches (ICCC). According to Millie, the ICCC was founded in 1948 by radio evangelist Carl McIntire "to expose the World Council of Churches after we found out it was collaborating with three communist groups in the Orient." Says Millie, "We didn't think it was right to help enemies of our country....I can't think of anything worse than enemies of our nation and liberals here at home distorting God's word and deceiving innocent Christians sitting down in the pews."

## A modest proposal

"Attempts to merchandise Dan Quayle as an acceptable vice presidential candidate have made mockery of the idea of political integrity and have debased the American political system." That is the opening sentence of an advertisement placed on a recent op-ed page of the *New York Times* by Paul Hawken, writer Orville Schell and actor Peter Coyote. The three men believe Quayle is ill-suited for the presidency. They write, "By urging Dan Quayle to continue playing a role for which he is clearly unsuited and for which no coaches or public relations handlers can prepare him, George Bush and his advisers betray the American ideal that politics and politicians can be governed by notions of excellence and integrity....We are saddened by the spectacle of a man of very modest abilities being thrust onto the public stage to play a part beyond his capacities....We call on George Bush to reverse his decision, to find an honorable way for Dan Quayle to step down and to appoint another more qualified person as his running mate."



With permission of the Chicago Sun-Times, Inc., 1988

## Fore!

"The most insulting and degrading slur one man can heap upon another" is how one teed-off letter-writer described this cartoon by Jack Higgins of the *Chicago Sun-Times*. But is Higgins' criticism of Quayle's war record that far off the mark? Quayle has apparently never let anything—not even a tour with the Indiana National Guard—get in the way of a golf game. When Quayle lived in Huntington, Ind., he lived in a house on a golf course. And *Time* magazine reports that last year Quayle played an average of three games of golf a week. In between games he found time to vote for aid to the contras.



By David Moberg

**S**INCE THE FINAL PRESIDENTIAL DEBATE, A new parlor game has become popular among political commentators, editorial cartoonists and ordinary folks despairing over the prospect of President George Bush and Vice President J. Danforth Quayle: give the right answer to the questions Michael Dukakis flubbed so badly.

"Bernie," he could have responded to Bernard Shaw's opening question about whether Dukakis would advocate the death penalty if his wife were to be raped and murdered, "If that ever happened to my wife I'd be so furious I'd want to strangle the guy with my own two hands. I've gone through tragedies of crime that injured my father and killed my brother. It is one of the most agonizing, painful experiences any of us can endure. But I know—and you know—that making public policy on the basis of raw emotion is dangerous and wrong. And any politician who cynically exploits people's fears of crime to win office, as my opponent has done with distorted accounts of the prison system in Massachusetts, doesn't deserve to be trusted."

"Criminals must be punished, but as the best cops, prosecutors, judges and criminal justice experts agree, the most important thing for us to do is guarantee that the punishment will be swift and certain for any crime, not that extremely harsh punishments are available but rarely used. The death penalty appeals to our desire for revenge, but it doesn't deter future crime or bring back victims. It also goes against the basic ethical principles we hope a civilized society can embody."

It's easy to go on (see page 24). But if Dukakis had given better responses in the final debate, it would already be a different, tighter presidential race. Despite Bush's overwhelming advantages—a link to a popular president and a semblance of peace and prosperity—many underlying voter sentiments have long presented openings for Dukakis. Yet his campaign seems determined to miss its best opportunities.

**New world views:** Dukakis could have exploited Americans' changing opinions about national security and the country's role in the world. The changes show up in a series of reports issued over the past year by Americans Talk Security, a bipartisan project using four different polling firms initiated by Boston businessman Alan F. Kay.

The studies show that despite deep remaining distrust of the Soviet Union, most Americans rank direct military threats from the Soviet Union relatively low among dangers to national security. For example, 57 percent of those surveyed—a cross-section of registered voters—rank new threats of economic competition and international drug trafficking as most important, while 38 percent emphasized military threats and a strong national defense. By a margin of 56 to 37 percent Americans surveyed considered economic competitors like Japan a greater national security threat than military adversaries like the Soviet Union. The results indicate that Americans might well be ready for new national security policies.

Americans have an increasingly favorable view of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachov and a more benign view of the Soviet Union. For example, in 1984 56 percent of Americans thought the USSR was akin to Hitler's Ger-

## Mishandling the issues and misreading the public mood



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many—an evil empire trying to rule the world—but by 1987 only 38 percent shared that view.

At the same time, respondents to the Americans Talk Security survey believe the U.S. is a declining economic power: only 22 percent saw the U.S. as the top economic power, and 34 percent thought countries like Japan and West Germany are now more economically powerful. By strong margins they wanted the next president to address U.S. economic and social needs. They even showed a willingness to vote against an alternative candidate who was better able to guarantee a strong defense. Indeed, voters surveyed overwhelmingly thought economic might was more important in determining a country's influence than military power, and they wanted the next president to spend more at home and strengthen the economy.

Although there was strong sentiment that the Reagan military buildup was necessary, not many of those surveyed said they felt more secure, and a substantial percentage thought the Soviet Union had a military edge. But there was little support for increased defense spending, and little support for deep cuts. Although a slim majority supported Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative, many backers weren't willing to spend the required money. And overwhelming majorities thought that military spending, especially on behalf of foreign countries, hurts American well-being.

The dominant view among respondents was that the U.S. should proceed cautiously to negotiate arms reductions but also strengthen conventional defense. Few people had heard of alternative defense ideas, such as strategies to guarantee common security or reliance on defensive weapons that could not be provocatively used for offense. Given the lack of awareness, a surprisingly strong 40 percent said those alternative strategies "made sense."

**The waffle factor:** It might seem that these trends were ready-made for Dukakis. But the strong majority that earlier this year in *Washington Post*-ABC polls thought the U.S. was on the wrong track has shriveled in recent months, and more than half of likely voters don't think relationships with the Soviet Union will be different regardless of whether a Democrat or Republican is in the White House. And on the crucial question of confidence in strengthening the economy, Bush often appears ahead of Dukakis.

Dukakis has simply waffled with tiresome

platitudes about "good jobs at good wages" and upbeat promises that "the best America is yet to come." But before projecting his necessary optimistic message, Dukakis had to crystallize people's real but unfocused misgivings about the economy.

Voters in the Americans Talk Security polls ranked the high and still-rising deficit as the third most serious threat to national security. The Economic Policy Institute, a labor-backed Washington think tank, just released a report that found that failure to balance U.S. trade means that 5.1 million job opportunities have been lost. That loss, especially in manufacturing and related industries, hit the Midwest and West hardest, but each of the four major regions of the country lost at least 1 million jobs. But Dukakis has failed to focus on trade anxieties or to provide a sufficiently convincing argument about how his administration could do better.

"The broad majority of voters readily agree, despite the appearance of good times, that the middle class has had to struggle to

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**Throughout his campaign Dukakis has largely avoided criticizing American corporate behavior.**

keep up, that the rich and corporations are taking unfair advantage, and that kids today—poor and middle class alike—face harder times," pollster Stanley Greenberg concluded following focus-group studies in late August on swing voters and Democratic defectors in California and Michigan. But

Dukakis has failed to sharpen the vague feelings of discontent that earlier this year had seemed so promising to Democrats.

Democrats have trouble holding the allegiance of this distressed middle class, Greenberg argued in the report, "because so much of middle-class identity is caught up with race," that is, white hostility to blacks. But he argued that Democrats can win them over by becoming the champion of kids who are threatened by drugs, ill-served by inadequate child care and overworked parents, shut out of a chance at a good start in life with a high-quality job and blocked in later life from buying a home or having a middle-class lifestyle.

Dukakis has tried to appeal to middle-class voters and to address family issues. He has proposed programs for college loans, mandating health insurance and use of an IRA for home down-payments and other aid to education. All help revive the marginal voters' sense that the Democrats are for kids, and thus for the "people" or the "underdogs." But the programs are timid. More than that, earlier in the campaign Dukakis had to make the case clearly about the looming dangers in the American economy and the failures of Reagan and Bush's policies before relying on his upbeat message.

**Too kind to corporations:** In recent weeks Dukakis and Bentsen finally raised the specter of what massive foreign investment could mean. But they haven't addressed why, if foreigners found the U.S. so attractive, is foreign investment by U.S. corporations still rising rapidly? Throughout his entire campaign Dukakis has studiously avoided criticizing American corporate behavior, except for occasional critiques of what should be a major target—"merger mania" and corporate raiding.

Without a compelling, systematic critique of how the Reagan-Bush administration has undermined the economy, indulged the rich and corporations and squeezed the middle class—and without a bold statement of how he would manage the economy differently—Dukakis has been unable to take advantage of Americans' changing perceptions of their country and its place in the world. That, rather than how likable he appears, is the tragic weakness of his campaign. □

## Duke back-pedals on Jobs With Peace

The cock crowed thrice in the final presidential debate as Michael Dukakis denied his association with Jobs With Peace, a Boston-based group on whose advisory board he happens to sit. *Newsweek* reporter Margaret Warner asked the governor if he really did support Jobs With Peace's call for an immediate 25 percent cut in U.S. military spending.

"I don't happen to support that goal," replied Dukakis. "It's an example of how oftentimes we may be associated with organizations, all of whose particular positions we don't support."

Reducing U.S. military spending as rapidly as possible, however, is Jobs With Peace's only goal. "We're calling for a serious attempt to change both our foreign and domestic policy," says director Jill Nelson. "We're disappointed that Dukakis does not endorse that as an immediate goal."

In the past, she says, before the presidential race, Dukakis often appeared at Jobs With Peace functions. He twice proclaimed Jobs With Peace Weeks in Massachusetts, and even appeared in some of their promotional literature. But then Dan Quayle started attacking him as being soft on the war economy. In a September 28 rally in Texas, Quayle complained that Jobs With Peace had "an extreme liberal agenda calling for radical cuts in defense" and called upon Dukakis to resign from its board.

Quayle aides even went so far as to pass around photocopies of Jobs With Peace literature to the press, which is apparently how reporter Warner heard about the group. "It could be a good distribution program for us," says Nelson wryly.

—Paul Rauber



# Birth control, women's health care: tough issues for the next president

By Maggie Garb

**F**AMILY-PLANNING EXPERTS ARE PREDICTING that in the next few years there will be dramatic progress in the development and distribution of birth control and health care for women. But most warn that such progress in the U.S. depends on the next president's agenda.

New methods of birth control and cures for sexually transmitted diseases (STDs) are imminent. The prospect of this new technology has already fueled debate over the federal government's role in funding and distributing health-care services that include abortion, contraception and treatment for STDs.

## CAMPAIGN 88

In addition, a recent poll commissioned by the Planned Parenthood Federation of America found that Americans are expressing new willingness to deal with sex-related issues, including sex education in schools, AIDS education and teen pregnancy. This provides the next administration with a strong mandate to develop programs to deal with these issues.

**Sidestepping sex:** But so far, Michael Dukakis and George Bush have sidestepped the sex-related issues, sprinkling their stump speeches with undefined phrases like "family values." And both candidates have treated their wives and families like entries on their resumes. Bush even sparked some controversy by admitting in the first debate that if abortions became illegal, he wouldn't know what punishment to inflict on women who have them.

Beyond the few minutes of debate time

### Bush and Dukakis have sidestepped sex-related issues.

that dealt with the abortion question, neither candidate has addressed the sex-related issues that have adorned the covers of national magazines in recent years.

"It's really clear that the American public is ready," said Anne Saunier, chairwoman of the Planned Parenthood Federation of America, the international agency that oversees the work of local Planned Parenthood clinics. "They want some action on the family-planning agenda. It's clear there's been a substantial shift toward our points of view, toward our policies."

**Women's health care in danger:** At the October 13-16 national Planned Parenthood convention in St. Louis, Saunier outlined the questions that will face the next president, warning that without decisive action many reproductive health services may disappear.

She pointed out that many family-planning programs in the U.S. and those sponsored by U.S. agencies abroad have been under siege for the past eight years. The Reagan administration has effectively thwarted all efforts to initiate even the most basic family-planning programs. In addition, the anti-abortion movement has monopolized the energy, funding and time of most family-

planning organizations, reducing opportunities to implement new programs.

"We have spent a lot of money suing, and we've spent a lot of money fighting off their harassment," Saunier told *In These Times*. "We've been audited 55 times in the last eight years as compared to one or none before. We've had to spend a lot of money and time and people resources just to hold the line."

The Reagan administration's anti-family-planning policies have left the U.S. far behind other developed countries in both research and distribution of reproductive health services, she added. "We were once the leader in [birth control] methods, but now it's more restricted here than in the developing world in terms of options people have to manage their fertility."

Saunier said the next U.S. president will face the following policy questions:

• **FUNDING FOR RESEARCH.** A variety of contraceptive and birth-control methods are expected to be widely available within the next 10 years, but without adequate government support most of these methods will never reach the U.S. market. The most promising is the drug compound antiprogesterone, which induces abortion when taken



Richard Stromberg

early in pregnancy. One type of antiprogesterone, called RU 486, was recently approved for sale in France.

But anti-abortion groups in the U.S. have already begun lobbying Congress to ban the introduction of the drug in the U.S. Before it can be marketed in the U.S. it must win FDA approval, and that may take several years. With strong presidential leadership, the U.S. could lift itself out of what Saunier called its "research stagnation" and renew efforts to develop safe and affordable birth control.

• **HEALTH CARE FOR POOR WOMEN.** Beyond developing safe contraceptives, the administration will have to decide whether to support the expansion or reduction of reproductive health services for poor women. The Reagan administration has regularly called for closing down Title X, the nation's family-planning program. Congress continues to reauthorize it annually, but funding remains at the 1981 level. Title X services include annual physical exams, pre-natal care, abortion and contraception.

• **FAMILY-PLANNING SERVICES IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES.** Designed to pacify the anti-abortion movement, the Reagan administration in 1984 invoked the "Mexico City policy," which evolved during preparations for the U.N.-sponsored International Population Conference in Mexico City. The policy is reflected in all new grants and cooperative agreements between the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID) and private organizations that support family-planning services abroad. It forbids them to underwrite any program that performs, advocates, refers or counsels women about abortion. The policy, which Planned Parenthood is currently challenging in federal court, has curtailed efforts by other organizations to provide abortion services to Third World women (see accompanying story).

• **TEEN PREGNANCY IN THE U.S.** Although the teen pregnancy rate has leveled off in the last two years, it remains incredibly high. According to a recent study by the Alan Guttmacher Institute, the number of annual teen pregnancies in the U.S. is at least twice that of other industrialized nations. The study indicated that widespread availability of contraceptive services that are free and confidential may account for the lower teen pregnancy rates in Western Europe, Australia and Canada.

• **SEX EDUCATION.** The Guttmacher study found that sex education in schools also played a decisive role in limiting teen pregnancy as well as slowing the spread of sexually transmitted diseases among teenagers.

• **SAFE AND LEGAL ABORTION.** The next president could appoint as many as four new justices to the Supreme Court, which will likely review legalized abortion in the next few years. Those appointments are seen as critical by both the pro-choice and anti-abortion forces (see *In These Times*, Oct. 12).

Saunier argues that abortion has become the political catchword that's presumed to reflect a candidate's position on a range of family- or sex-related issues. "The anti-abortion movement has used this tactic because they're not just after abortion, but they're really after any positive program that has to do with sex," she said.

But she added that while the anti-abortion movement's agenda has always been clear, a "silent majority" of Americans continues to support the work of organizations like Planned Parenthood. In the next few years Planned Parenthood's job will be to make the new administration aware of public opinion. □

### Family planning in the Third World: the ugly Reagan legacy

Werner Fornos calls family planning the building block in the broad agenda devoted to preserving the Earth and "rescuing" humans from poverty.

Fornos is president of the Population Institute, a Washington, D.C.-based agency that initiates family planning programs in developing countries. He has spent the past eight years lobbying the Reagan administration to reverse its policies toward family planning in Third World countries.

While proclaiming "family values," the Reagan administration has cut funding to family planning agencies in the U.S. and abroad, insuring a world population boom, according to Fornos.

"By cutting off two of the biggest intermediaries responsible for family planning

services [Planned Parenthood Federation and the United Nations Population Fund] the Reagan administration has tried to use the chilling hand of government to prevent free speech, to chill human rights and to provide an ideological victory to the far right. They have punished and caused undo suffering on the part of poor women and women in the Third World."

Research from the Alan Guttmacher Institute shows the population of 90 developing countries is expected to double in the next 30 years.

Fornos recommends that the next U.S. administration adopt a two-part plan to stem population growth. Part one is what he calls "preserving and reclaiming the natural environment." Part two involves implementing a "new Marshall Plan" de-

signed to eliminate illiteracy among women, reduce infant mortality and promote the universal availability of family-planning information and technology.

"We as Americans just don't understand the kind of intolerable suffering we put on human beings who are not given the opportunity to control their fertility," Fornos says. "Women have always been the beasts of burden and there has come a time to say enough is enough. The equality of women has got to be the number one concern for world population control."

Fornos notes that research has shown it takes a full generation to implement family programs in any culture. He concludes, "Any time we delay is time we've lost."

-M.G.



By Matt Witt

**M**EET KWON SOO KYONG AND FRANCOIS Michel—and the reasons for a growing movement to link international trade policy and human rights issues become clearer.

Kwon, 21, is an electronics worker in Seoul, South Korea. She makes digital display equipment for export to the U.S. and other countries—part of the Korean industrial “miracle” featured in media coverage of the Olympic Games.

Michel (a pseudonym) is a garment worker in Port-au-Prince, Haiti. Amid the periodic Haitian military coups that make international

## LABOR

headlines, Michel reports to work each day, making clothing for U.S. department stores.

Kwon and Michel are paid only a few dollars per day and work 50 or 60 hours per week. They do not enjoy basic health and safety protections that their counterparts in American industry now take for granted.

**Workers of the world...** The economic relationship between U.S. workers and their lower-paid foreign counterparts like Kwon and Michel is a hot topic of debate among economists, corporate leaders, unionists, human rights advocates and politicians. There are three leading schools of thought on the issue:

- Executives of multinational corporations, as well as many Reagan administration economists, often using the slogan “free trade,” argue that the exploitation of Kwon and Michel is a natural result of international “competition” for jobs. If you don’t like losing your jobs to workers in Korea or Haiti, they tell U.S. workers, then be prepared to give up some of the rights and benefits you have won over the years.

- Protectionists, including a number of congressional Democrats, believe it possible to keep Americans working by keeping the products that Kwon and Michel make out of the U.S. market.

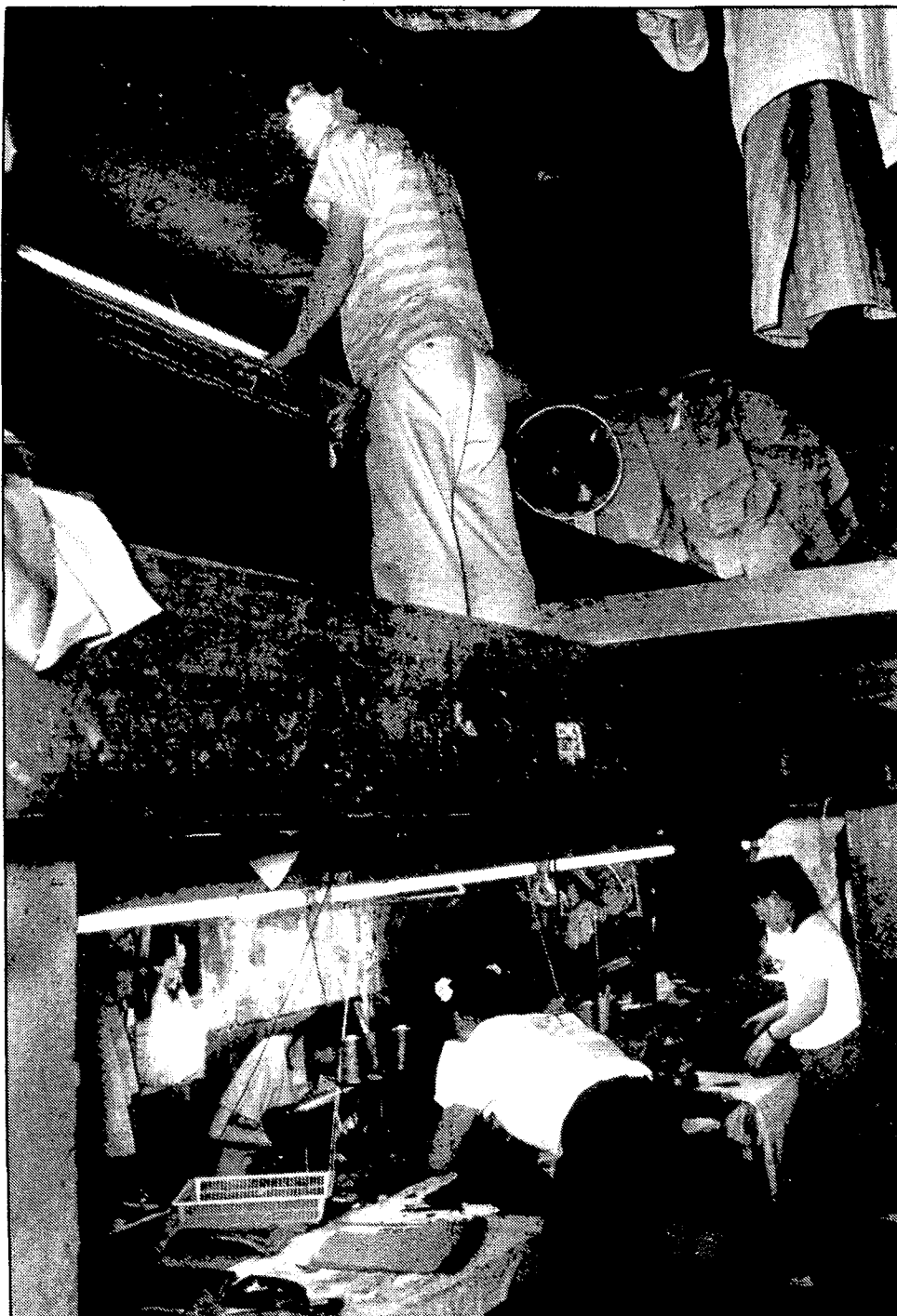
- A third point of view gaining support in the U.S. as well as the developing countries could be called the “international workers’ rights” approach. According to its supporters among unionists, human rights organizations and religious groups, U.S. workers can’t be protected unless Kwon and Michel are protected, and vice versa.

According to workers’ rights advocates, unregulated competition among workers benefits no one except multinational corporations that can move operations from country to country and play off one group of workers against another—a practice called “whipsawing.” The workers’ rights advocates argue that protectionism—even if it were politically acceptable to American consumers—would do nothing to increase Kwon’s and Michel’s ability to buy their own products and those of U.S. workers.

As an alternative, supporters of international workers’ rights want to improve working conditions in all countries to prevent whipsawing by multinational corporations. In the process, improved purchasing power would help all countries benefit from international trade.

“International respect for workers’ rights is not simply a moral issue,” said Rep. Don Pease (D-OH). “It is also an economic issue.

# Linking human rights with international trade



A garment factory in Seoul, South Korea.

Either American workers’ rights and living standards will be brought down toward the level of people in the developing world, or we can try to help people in those countries bring their standards up.”

**Action on the Hill:** In recent years, Pease and other members of Congress have succeeded in getting a number of workers’ rights provisions attached to U.S. trade-related laws. For example:

- Omnibus Trade Act of 1988. Amendments sponsored by Pease in the trade bill that Congress recently passed make it an unfair trading practice for a country to gain advantage by denying internationally recognized workers’ rights. The legislation authorizes the president to take action to remove that competitive advantage. The legislation also directs the president to make it a primary U.S. objective to negotiate an agreement with major trading partners that keeps denial of workers’ rights from being used to gain a competitive advantage.

The workers’ rights that are spelled out in the law include freedom of association, freedom to organize and bargain collec-

tively, a prohibition against forced labor and a minimum age for the employment of children—as well as the establishment of basic standards for minimum wages, hours of work and occupational safety and health.

- Generalized System of Preferences (GSP). Under the Trade and Tariff Act of 1984, work-

Fired workers in Port-au-Prince, Haiti.



ers’ rights provisions were added to the GSP, which allows products from 136 developing countries to enter the U.S. market without duties. The president is supposed to deny GSP benefits to any country that is not “taking steps” to afford the same workers’ rights named in the new trade bill.

- Caribbean Basin Initiative (CBI). Rep. George Crockett (D-MI) has proposed strong language to withhold special aid provided under the Caribbean Basin Initiative from any nation that does not enforce internationally recognized workers’ rights.

- Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC). In 1985, Congress prohibited the Overseas Private Investment Corporation—which provides political risk insurance for U.S. corporate operations overseas—from insuring corporate activity in any country that is not taking steps to adopt and enforce workers’ rights.

**Selective enforcement:** The odds on getting these laws enforced by any administration in the near future are certainly not good. The Reagan administration has given a partisan twist to the GSP workers’ rights amendments in recent years by denying trade preferences to Nicaragua, Romania and Paraguay, while ignoring the major labor rights violators among U.S. trading partners. Chile was later denied GSP privileges after a congressional outcry. Nonetheless, the administration has denied without hearings petitions from labor and human rights groups for review of GSP privileges for El Salvador, Guatemala, Indonesia, the Philippines, Thailand and Turkey.

Meanwhile, although the original CBI legislation passed in 1983 did contain some workers’ rights provisions, no country has been denied aid. And the Reagan administration has used the OPIC workers’ rights provisions to remove only Romania, Nicaragua, Ethiopia and Paraguay from the program.

Supporters of the workers’ rights approach argue that selective enforcement of the laws shows that the U.S. government only claims to be interested in workers’ rights while pursuing policies that serve the best interests of multinational corporations.

Under increasing pressure from workers’ rights supporters, the administration has agreed to review the GSP status of Haiti, Burma, Central African Republic, Israel, Liberia, Malaysia and Syria in light of workers’ rights violations in those countries.

Public hearings are scheduled for November, with decisions promised by next April. Union and human rights groups see this process as an opportunity to conduct educational campaigns on the mutual interests of working people in the U.S. and abroad. And now that the new trade bill has passed, pressure will also grow for administration action against countries like South Korea on workers’ rights grounds.

**How Haiti is like South Africa:** The debate over linking trade to workers’ rights already echoes the arguments made for and against economic sanctions against South African apartheid.

Earlier this year, for example, representatives of manufacturing firms in Haiti—U.S. firms with operations there and native-owned firms that supply U.S. retailers—traveled to Washington to lobby against any cutoff in trade privileges over workers’ rights violations in Haiti.

They argued that failure to protect work-

Continued on page 10



By Diana Johnstone

PARIS

**T**HE PALESTINIAN BOYS WHO THROW ROCKS at Israeli soldiers in the Occupied Territories were the idol of Algerian youth. There was even a certain emulation. When protest demonstrations suddenly flared early this month, young Algerians spoke proudly of "our *intifada*." Ironically, by a reverse play a mirror images, the revolt of the Algerians has politically damaged the *intifada* they so much admire.

French historian Maxime Rodinson, a leading specialist on the Arab world, said it was dramatic that "violence and repression in Algeria make violence and repression in other countries into something ordinary."

After five days of early-October strikes, protest demonstrations and finally shop looting, Algerian soldiers or police began to fire on the crowds. The clampdown on information made it impossible to know exactly how many people were killed. Estimates ranged anywhere from 200 to 500.

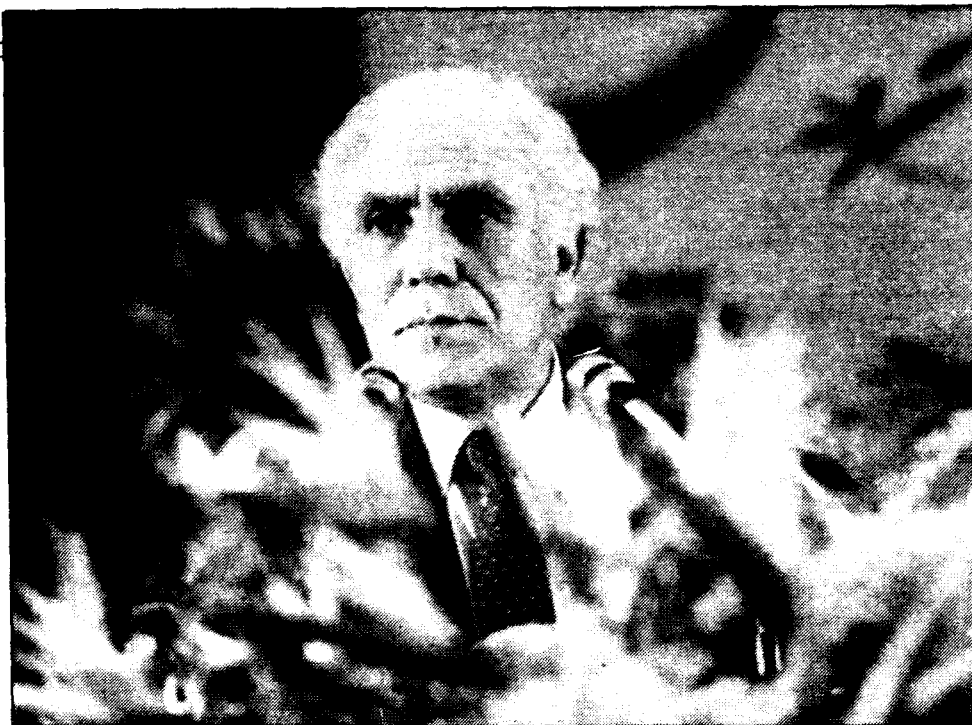
Hocine Ait-Ahmed, a historic leader of the Algerian revolution living in exile since 1966, noted in an interview in the French daily *Libération* that Algeria's "revolutionary image" has now collapsed. Hocine Ait-Ahmed asked, "What validity has a government that organized an 'Arab summit' to support Palestinian kids fighting with stones against the Israeli occupation, and then itself gives orders to fire on its own youth?"

The night before the fatal shootings Algerian Interior Minister Hadi el Khediri, reputedly a "liberal," lamented on state television that the street demonstrations were "harming Algeria and, even more regrettably, the symbol of the revolution." That harm was nothing compared to the damage done by the bloody restoration of "order."

**A model no more?** There is no more freedom, and even more poverty, in neighboring Morocco, a bulwark of the "Free World," and brutal police crackdowns are standard in most Arab countries. But more was expected of Algeria since it won its independence from France in 1962 in a war of national liberation seen by many throughout the world as a model.

In France, conservative newspapers immediately began crowing over the "silence" of leftist intellectuals so quick to criticize Chile's Gen. Augusto Pinochet. Franz-Oliver Giesbert, who began his career as crusading progressive journalist for *Le Nouvel Observateur* with slashing attacks on right-wing press magnate Robert Hersant, used one of his first editorials as the new editor-in-chief of Hersant's flagship daily newspaper *Le Figaro* to attack intellectuals who are "suddenly indifferent to bloodbaths and deaf to the cries of machine-gunned crowds."

In fact, the silence lasted only long enough for the indignant statements to be written and the petitions to be circulated. Leading figures in the minority French opposition to the war in Algeria (the main cause that forged the French new left in the late '50s) such as Claude Bourdet, Gisèle Halimi, Maxime Rodinson and Pierre Vidal-Naquet issued a statement "denouncing the atrocious repression exercised by the Algerian government and its armed forces against the Algerian people and its youth. It is not repression that will settle the problems born of hunger, unemployment, flagrant inequalities and corruption." They demanded the immediate end of repression and the recognition of the Algerian people's democratic rights and freedoms "in the name of human rights."



The Western world considers President Chadli Bendjedid the best available Algerian leader.

## Desperation of young Algerians won't go away with repression

Most of those who had committed themselves most actively to the Algerian cause, the so-called "suitcase carriers" in reference to their services to clandestine Algerian leaders traveling in Europe, had long since been disenchanted with the postindependen-

### AFRICA

dence regime in Algiers. The rhetoric was revolutionary, but in practice bureaucratic privilege and corruption was rampant. The disillusion for most came when the army, led by Houari Boumedienne, overthrew the original revolutionary leadership headed by Ahmed Ben Bella in 1965.

But the French veterans of the Algerian cause have generally been more faithful to their ideals than the more numerous "revolutionaries" of the late '60s. Former "suitcase carrier" Jean-Paul Ribes commented on the brutal crackdown to *Libération*: "We don't have an ounce of responsibility. It's better for Algeria to be what it is, despite errors and crimes, than colonized. I'd naturally have preferred a democratic system, but that is none of our business."

**Solidarity forever?** Those who felt it was their business were the young second-generation Algerians in France, the "Beurs" (slang for "Arab" pronounced backwards). Their reaction was the most immediate. The local Paris "Radio Beurs" broadcast non-stop news and commentary, mostly from listeners calling in to express their reactions. Young Algerians were the first to go out in the streets of Paris to demonstrate solidarity with the victims in Algeria.

Many recalled the massive protest demonstrations in Paris two years ago, when police brutality resulted in the death of student Malik Ousseine. How could they not demonstrate when hundreds were shot down in Algeria?

Official reactions were, in contrast, muted. Prime Minister Michel Rocard tried to explain that his silence should be understood as a silent reproach. French officials feared open condemnation would probably be counterproductive, lending credence to accusations in the official Algerian press that the French were trying to "destabilize" independent Algeria by making an uproar in order to restore colonial control.

The French were indeed in a tough spot.

Some Algerians accused French critics of arrogant interference in Algeria's internal affairs. Others interpreted French silence as proof of indifference toward the Algerian people.

The French Socialist government had plenty of reasons, some better than others, for silent embarrassment. Perhaps the person who was most upset was former Foreign Minister Claude Cheysson, today European Community commissioner for the Mediterranean, who in the '60s worked for the Algerian government as director of industrial development. As Mitterrand's first foreign minister, Cheysson negotiated a deal for purchase of Algerian gas well above world market prices, which was criticized by French conservatives as too generous.

Nevertheless, the fall in world prices for hydrocarbons has in recent years cost

### The population explosion in North Africa raises fears in France of clandestine immigration as millions of youths find no prospect of work at home.

Algeria over half its earnings, closing the gap between the country's foreign earnings (\$8 billion) and service on its debt (\$5 billion). At the same time, the population has more than doubled since independence, going from nine million in 1960 to nearly 24 million today, most of them young people with no jobs and no prospects, even though they have had more schooling than their parents.

**Pointing the finger:** "Young Algerians have nothing to look forward to, not even the possibility of going to Europe for work," said Cheysson. "They are condemned to frustration, despair and anger. Unable to express themselves democratically, they do so by smashing the state-owned stores."

"I hold responsible those who define the world economy, the U.S., Japan and Western Europe," Cheysson said. "They have given priority to the dictates of the market, thus eliminating the weak from the world decision-making process. I don't accuse market forces but the irresponsibility of public au-

thorities, national or international, in the face of the marginalization of all the weak, left without the slightest hope."

Cheysson warned, "What is happening today in Algeria will happen tomorrow elsewhere in the Third World."

Indeed it is already happening.

The conservative opposition in France was in no position to say much either about violations of human rights in Algeria. When they were in office in April 1987 a leading Algerian champion of human rights, lawyer Ali Mecili, was assassinated in front of his Paris home. The main suspect was expelled from France by police boss Robert Pandraud, instead of being brought to trial. The crime bore all the earmarks of complicity between Algerian and French secret service.

French and other Western governments were all the more uneasy in that they consider President Chadli Bendjedid, who risks being permanently disgraced by the slaughter, the best available Algerian leader. Chadli has been introducing economic liberalization reforms recommended by the West. As usual, the first visible results have been merely to accentuate the gap between the rich minority who profit and the discontented majority.

After a few days of articles expressing shock and reprobation, French newspapers began to publish pieces suggesting that the uprising and crackdown had been manipulated by Chadli's enemies a few weeks before the ruling party, the National Liberation Front (FLN), met to nominate him for another term. Articles speculated that crowds had been aroused and manipulated by either FLN bureaucrats hostile to reforms that threaten their privileges, or communists, or Khadafy agents, or Islamic fundamentalists, or some combination of the above. Giving the official censorship, it is impossible to dismiss or prove such allegations. There was no answer to the crucial question of who gave orders to fire on the crowds: did the line of command come from Chadli or from his enemies, anxious to discredit him?

Some observers suggested that the role of Islamic fundamentalists, who are no better organized in Algeria than any other opposition, had been deliberately exaggerated by the authorities in order to rally Western support. Since the Ayatollah Khomeini's triumph in Iran, none of the potential channelers of popular discontent frighten Europeans as much as "Islamic fundamentalists." The liberal journalist Jean-Francois Kahn explained why. In Arab countries, he noted, when the government cracks down, the only place people can take refuge is the mosque, where as "osmosis" takes place between leftist and religious stigmatization of wealth and luxury. Since "the obsession of the Islamists is radical opposition to any form of birth control," said Kahn, "their victory, even indirect, would lead to catastrophe."

The population explosion in North Africa raises fears in France of uncontrollable clandestine immigration as millions of youths find no prospect of work at home. The protests in the name of human rights, the demands for democratic pluralism are necessary—a necessary minimum. But they are inadequate when there is no prospect that even a democratic government could solve problems resulting from a world economic system outside the control of Third World countries. Europeans' devotion to human rights is not likely to be stretched to readiness to open their own countries to the increasingly desperate masses across the sea.



## Israeli vote

Continued from page 3

four seats in the outgoing Knesset and may increase its strength on November 1.

Several leading Likud figures have called for mass Arab expulsions or a complete population transfer, although party leaders have not embraced this policy. Peled believes "expulsion of the Palestinians is on the Likud's mind, even if they don't say so. The annexation that most 'Likudniks' want would create a binational state, and it could not remain a Jewish state with mass expulsions. Right now their language is confused, but not their thoughts."

Adi Ophir, a Hebrew University philosophy lecturer and anti-occupation activist, also believes that the Likud's message is strained. "They say in the campaign, 'We don't want transfers,' yet some Likud leaders have advocated it. The Likud campaign doesn't confront the logic of their own maximalist solution: it means transfers."

**Waiting for Godot?** Why hasn't the Israeli left been able to turn the *intifada's* horrific images of beatings and deaths into a major campaign issue? To some degree, left-wing parties such as the Ratz (Citizens Rights Movement) and the socialist Mapam (United Workers) party face self-imposed tactical constraints because they are going after undecided, left-leaning voters. Thus they steer away from campaign themes that could over-radicalize their image. Meanwhile, the political center addresses the *intifada* largely as a symptom, unlike the right, which treats it as a disease to be eradicated.

With no all-out anti-occupation campaign mounted by any party, says Ophir, Israeli progressives are simply "waiting for the next

election."

Yeshayahu Lebowitz, a retired philosophy professor and well-known prophet of radical political anger, criticizes the impotence of the Israeli left in the face of the *intifada*. "An opposition to this violence does exist," he says. "Many people express these opinions, but they are not yet an organized power."

Opposition also exists among high-ranking army officers, according to Lebowitz. "They understand that the current political line [toward the *intifada*] is the way to perdition, but feel unable to do anything." Certain quarters of the Israeli army, he believes, realize that "the spirit of the Palestinians fighting for their freedom today is exactly that of the Viet Cong" and understand that the Palestinian civil insurgency cannot be controlled by conventional means.

If the November 1 election ends in a virtual Labor-Likud deadlock and the Israeli-Palestinian confrontation continues, then "the state of Israel will become a fascist state," Lebowitz predicts. "For example, earlier this month the Israeli army, armed with the best American weapons, murdered six Arabs who did not bear arms. There are concentration camps containing thousands of Arabs. There are many, many instances of Israeli soldiers treating Arabs exactly as [Nazi] John Demjanjuk treated Jewish prisoners."

Says an Israeli army officer, "When I first heard Lebowitz a few years ago I was shocked, even outraged. Now we have concentration camps and maybe 7,000 Arab prisoners who've never had a trial. It's like he said would happen—and I'm not shocked anymore."

"What can I say?" he adds. "It's still my country."

Joe Lockard is a Jerusalem-based writer.

## Workers

Continued from page 8

ers' rights is an issue between the U.S. and Haiti's military dictatorship. They also said that if the U.S. were to cut off American markets because of the workers' rights issue, Haitian workers would be hurt by unemployment.

Ironically, while corporate officials claim to represent workers' interests in opposing sanctions, dozens of workers interviewed by *In These Times* in Haiti's capital, Port-au-Prince, this past July argued that economic pressure against the multinational companies is an essential tool in bringing real change to their countries.

Francois Michel works at the GEBSA garment factory, which is owned by Jean Edouard Baker, one of the industrialists who has lobbied in Washington. Workers at the factory were locked out last year after protesting an increase in workload with no increase in pay. Michel said that with the change in the piece rate many workers could not make \$3 per day.

The Haitian army—which is largely supplied by U.S. aid—was called in to enforce the lockout and to provide protection while the work was moved to another factory. Baker's plant eventually reopened with a new work force, and the former workers say they have been blacklisted by other factories.

Incidents like this are nearly a daily occurrence, according to a spokesman for the Autonomous Confederation of Haitian Workers (CATH), one of Haiti's major union federations. "We will always have jobs that pay only a few dollars per day as long as we cannot freely organize," he said. "In order to

improve the situation of the people of Haiti, we must not only organize as workers but also replace our military government with a democratic system.

"Because American corporations and the American government play such an important role in maintaining the present system, we cannot make the necessary changes alone. We need all the pressure you can create."

**"We are not alone":** Meanwhile, halfway around the world, Korean electronics worker Kwon Soo Kyong also welcomes international support for her right to organize. She and other workers at an STC Corporation plant formed a union in an attempt to raise pay—now about \$160 per month—and to win adequate ventilation and protection from chemical spills.

*In These Times* interviewed a number of workers at the plant gate in July after management responded to their organizing efforts by physically preventing 16 union activists from reporting to their work stations. The young women had large welts on their bodies from the beatings, and some had blood on their uniforms.

Despite the violence, they kept reporting to work each day for a week so that the company could not say they had quit. Finally, management allowed them to resume their jobs. Kwon said that, while it was hard to face the beatings, "it was important to show other workers that if we stick to it we can win."

"We also know that we are not alone," she said, "because workers all over Korea and all over the world are standing up for their rights like we are."

Matt Witt is director of the American Labor Education Center and editor of its bulletin, "American Labor."

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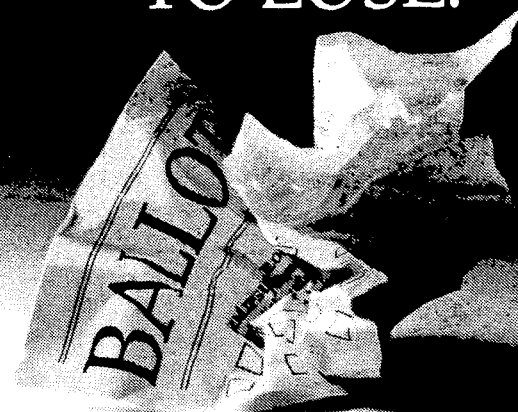
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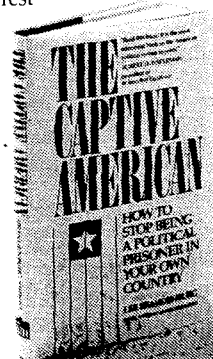
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# The Polish government and Solidarity: two old foes may now need each other

By Franek Michalski

GDANSK, POLAND

**A**FTER SEVEN YEARS OF DENYING THE Solidarity union's existence, the Polish government has begun talks with its elected chairman, Lech Walesa. But why the change of heart? Out of weakness or strength, folly or guile?

After breaking the strikes in May of this year, the government of Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski seemed strong enough to continue ignoring "the former chairman of the former trade union," as official press spokesman Jerzy Urban used to call Walesa. True, the strikes in August worried the authorities because they lasted longer and spread more widely than those of last May. But even so, August 1988 still fell far short of the strike wave of August 1980 during which Solidarity was born. Moreover, the government's tactics to put down the May strikes seemed to work in August, as well: quick-but-brutal police raids against strikers at some plants and slower, starve-'em-out tactics against others.

**The union's disunity:** Solidarity itself has been going through a bit of an identity crisis. For several years now the underground press has carried criticisms of Solidarity's overall project—legal existence within the framework of the communist state—and of its waning organizational strength in factories. Many regarded Walesa as little more than a media personality who, along with the rest of Solidarity's leadership, had lost touch with the rank and file.

The nation's economic troubles over the past several years have undercut Solidarity's potential support among the rest of the population. The catastrophic drop in living standards has led many people to fear for basic survival, making them unwilling to take risks for less-tangible issues.

Why then the concession to Solidarity?

Opposition circles are quick to point out that any liberal gestures by the Polish government must be attributed to public pressure. The August strikes, they say, had a tremendous symbolic impact that revealed deep dissatisfaction within society. The strikes left authorities without many options. Further repression—with or without half-baked reform proposals—would only throw gasoline on the flames.

But this analysis is not altogether convincing. There is no question that the endurance

tary. Passport policy is so lax that virtually everyone who wishes can travel abroad. One is tempted to conclude that in Poland today almost everything is permitted, or at least winked at. Everything, that is, except for a fully legal Solidarity.

**The young and the restless:** Poland's new permissiveness can be read as a government plea for popular goodwill in the campaign against the economic crisis. The situation is so serious—an implosion of industrial production, the collapse of productive and transportation infrastructure, as well as a skyrocketing foreign debt—that only a concerted national effort can hope to start a recovery. So far none of the government's attempts at winning over the population, from "market socialist" legislation to consultations with independent experts, has produced even a shiver of support from workers or consumers.

Small wonder, then, that beleaguered government ministers are tempted to consider Solidarity's often-repeated offer of cooperation to pitch in on a reform program (including harsh austerity measures) in exchange for formal union recognition.

In the current stalemate government leaders feel confident that they can hold their own against the intellectual opposition and the traditional Solidarity structures. But they are not at all sure what to expect from the new generation of Solidarity workers.

Too young to have been members of Solidarity in 1980, it is this new generation that has spearheaded the strikes in May and August of this year. Wage demands are much less important to them than Solidarity's reinstatement. "If we accept raises today, what is to prevent prices from going up again tomorrow?" is a question young workers in Gdansk often pose.

"Either we win, or we start stringing them

up," one young shipyard worker told this reporter. The "them," of course, refers to the communist authorities. Sentiments like these, expressed in lean proletarian language, are the Polish regime's worst nightmare come true.

And this new determination—a readiness to fight if necessary—marks a change from Solidarity's traditional willingness to negotiate for specific concessions from the authorities. "What's your goal?" journalists asked a young shipyard worker this summer. "To have Solidarity. To get rid of the Reds." "Why?" "Because if not for the Reds, my old man wouldn't drink, my mother wouldn't be hustling and I wouldn't have done time for breaking and entering."

This can be read as a sophisticated rejection of the entire oppressive system, or a simplistic, "it's all *their* fault" pessimism. In any case it is this irrepressible anger that forced Solidarity's hand this summer. When the national union leadership vacillated, unsure whether to support local strikes last April, it was the young workers who took action.

Walesa earned their respect by his, pardon the expression, comradeship in the May strike at the Gdansk shipyard. Though he had doubts about the wisdom of the action, he joined the strikers out of a sense of duty and solidarity. His experience and sense of timing proved invaluable in soothing tense situations. Early one morning, after a night of mock police charges at the shipyard gates, Walesa calmed the exhausted nerves of his fellow workers by declaring that he'd guard the gate himself. Then he got into his sleeping bag and bid the others to do the same.

**The bottom line:** Having said all this, the question still persists—Why did the Polish government decide to talk to Solidarity? Perhaps because it is a tactic that risks little in order to gain much. As long as criticism of the regime is de facto legal, why not bring it one step closer to legality?

Second, talks have been proposed only with Walesa, and only on a "round-table" basis, which means that his voice could easily be lost in a crowd. (This was precisely the offer that Solidarity rejected in November 1981, one month before martial law, on the principle that the meeting should only be between the three major forces in Polish society: the government, the Church and Solidarity.)

Third, the authorities are well aware that Walesa is the only hope of controlling the angry rebellion from below. He did just that in persuading strikers to return to work in August in return for a promise of negotiations that would discuss the legalization of Solidarity.

It was a very thin promise. Yet it has given all the actors a chance to regroup. Solidarity's factory organizations have shown new life. In factory after factory the union has begun to function openly, and articulate leaders are rising from the ranks. The government, for its part, has also reorganized, but the government leaders that carried out martial law are still in power.

Yet their luck may have run out. Solidarity as a union organization has been redefining itself from the factory floor up and is now stronger than ever. But the decisive force, which neither the authorities nor the Solidarity leadership can ignore, remains the determined new generation of angry young workers. □

Franek Michalski is contributing editor to *Across Frontiers*, a journal that reports on Eastern Europe. He recently visited Poland.

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## EASTERN EUROPE

of Solidarity as a symbolic and real presence in Poland indicates the utter lack of public support for the regime. Nonetheless, the ruling elite remains in power. "I don't expect you to love me," Jaruzelski seems to be saying, "but you're stuck with me, so why not cooperate to make it easier on us all?"

The general's strongest argument for public acceptance has been the palpable shift in policy away from political repression toward a concentration on the economy.

Today Poland does not *look* like a repressive society. The underground press publishes so prolifically that it is de facto legal.

### Talking with the union has few risks for the government, but could mean big gains.

Opposition leaders call press conferences. A group called Freedom and Peace, through a campaign of sit-ins and draft card turn-ins, this summer won legal recognition of the right to conscientious objection to the mili-



Lech Walesa: he has the respect of a more radical new generation of Solidarity workers.



# Painting with



By Stephen London

**A** U.S. TOUR OF NEO-EXPRESSIONIST ANSELM KIEFER's monumental artworks is giving American audiences their first in-depth look at one of the '80s most challenging and revolutionary artists. The exhibit, which opened at New York's Museum of Modern Art October 17 after runs in Philadelphia, Chicago and Los Angeles, has been hailed by several critics as the year's most significant international art exhibit.

Such acclaim is by no means universal. While Kiefer is widely held to be the most important living German artist, he has been

a controversial figure in West Germany, drawing the ire of those who object to his provocative, often morbid manner of delving into the Nazi past. But a great deal more is at work in Kiefer's paintings, photographs and sculptures than just rubbing his fellow citizen's noses in their least favorite subject of collective guilt.

**Healing power of art:** The 43-year-old recluse from the Black Forest town of Donaueschingen has created a profoundly original and enormously powerful body of work that examines the spiritual devastation and perverted consciousness wrought by Nazism. Among modern Germans, who appear increasingly disinclined to identify any

*Anselm Kiefer's scorched canvases burn with Teutonic intensity.*

aspect of their society with its unfathomably malignant predecessor, such discomforting musings are particularly unpopular because Kiefer questions the barrier of distinctions they have drawn between then and now. In a nation yearning to be free of its past, socially conscious artists such as Kiefer have also been criticized for focusing on the past

and ignoring present-day concerns.

There is something deeply disturbing about Kiefer's vast, gloomy canvases. For all of the artist's repeated references to spiritual salvation through the healing power of art, the sense of despair is unmistakable. One is tempted to refer to his as Holocaust art, but Kiefer is less concerned with the victims than



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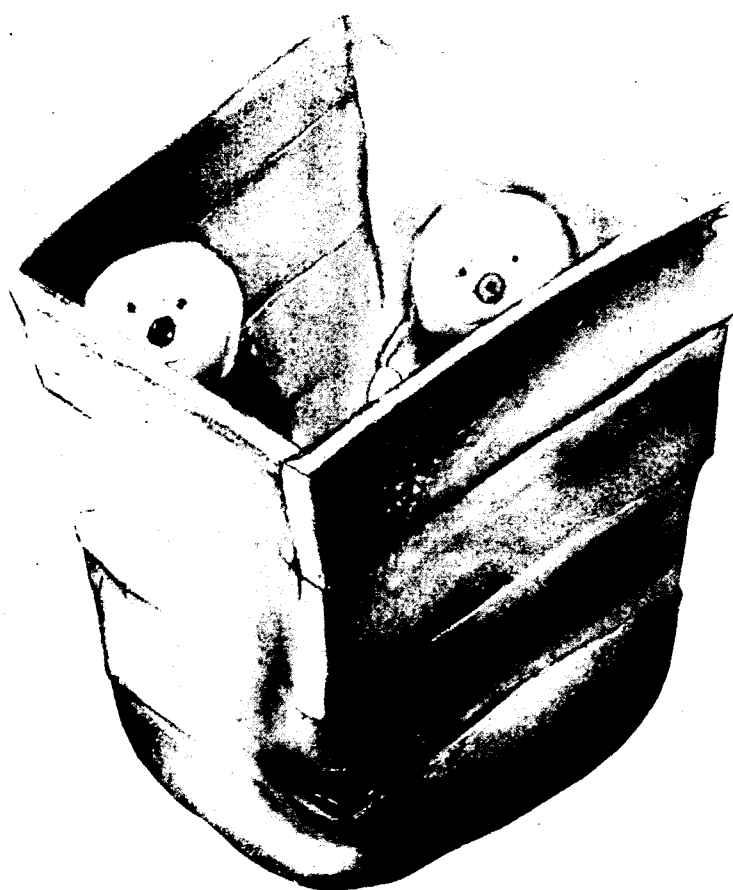


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the perpetrators. It is this obsession with the wellsprings of evil that raises ever more troubling questions about the present state of German consciousness. Current German attitudes and perceptions are uncomfortably close to those found during its moral eclipse, Kiefer suggests, yet the need for national redemption has been swept under the rug along with so many other uncomfortable truths about the National Socialist period.

While the roots and character of Nazism are central to his themes, Kiefer has attempted something far more ambitious in his explorations of his country's historical, cultural and mythological underpinnings. His distillation of history, particularly the history of German consciousness, places his work

on a rarefied plane few visual artists can share.

Painters who could eloquently express social concerns have rarely been successful. In recent decades such subject matter has been virtually banished from an art market engrossed with creativity as a highly profitable commodity. Although Kiefer's paintings have been termed evocative of the heroic tradition of such 19th century artists as Delacroix and Géricault—ponderous, historic themes executed on a grand scale—Kiefer maintains a thoroughly modern style of communicating his artistic vision.

This distinguishing trait, the application of Abstract Expressionism's complexity and subtlety to serious themes, has been hailed as one of his chief accomplishments. In the words of *Los Angeles Times* art critic William Wilson, "In good German fashion he has put abstraction in the service of the real to speak of the transcendent."

**Layered symbolism:** Strongly influenced by the late Joseph Beuys, who also gained an international reputation for his confrontational, pointedly political approach to art, Kiefer shares with his mentor an impassioned sense of the artist as conscience. In West Germany's polarized society both men gained high profiles by using art as a political weapon. Whereas Beuys has been criticized for frequently resorting to mere shock value and visual one-liners, however, Kiefer's trademarks invariably include layer upon layer of complex symbolism and subtle shades of meaning.

Kiefer's most notorious work remains a photographic series called *Occupations*. The artist had himself photographed in scores of different settings giving the Hitler salute. In innumerable unlikely contexts—saluting the ocean, a blank bathroom wall or the Roman Coliseum—the power of this symbol upon our emotions dissipates. The gesture becomes absurd, harmless. The banality of evil is certainly one message here, but of greater importance to Kiefer is the artist's ability to expose and transform symbol, to undermine our perception of historical references, to sabotage history.

Kiefer's iconoclastic efforts to unmask the tainted nature of postwar Germany zero in on some of his culture's most sacred cows, exploring their appropriation and debase-ment under the Third Reich. But such attempts to liberate symbols and values caught in the web of Germany's modern nightmare are expressed in a curiously ambivalent manner. Kiefer seems continually torn between hope and deep cynicism.

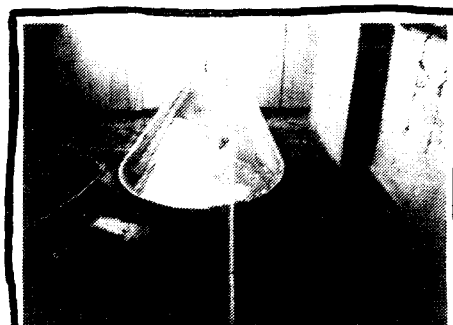
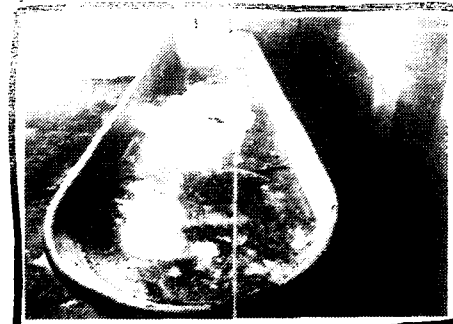
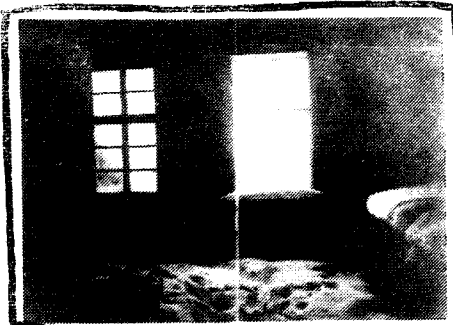
His food for thought offers the kind of irony-rich diet many find difficult to digest, particularly given the painful nature of his subject matter. In his series of paintings entitled *Ways Of Worldly Wisdom*, which features portraits of revered German thinkers and leaders, Kiefer challenges the viewer to consider that on some collective level these cultural giants led the nation along a path that ended with Nazism, thus casting their wisdom, or at least the value of that wisdom, into doubt.

By placing popular or heroic subject matter in morally ambiguous juxtapositions beside Nazi reference points he is espousing a spiritual principle as well, the idea that everything has the power to manifest itself in either a positive or negative manner, that good and evil stem from a common source in our psyches. The wholesome is not so easily separable from that which can destroy.

← Brünhilde Sleeps

PHOTO WITH ACRYLIC  
AND EMULSION, 1980

↓ PAGES FROM  
Hoffmann von  
Fallersleben auf  
Helgoland, 1978



**Scorched landscapes:** Kiefer reduces these concepts to the fundamental level of earth, fire, water and air. Fire is shown as a force that can purify as well as burn. The ease with which it can rage out of control, changing its nature, serves as a leitmotif for the artist's judgments on his culture's descent into barbarism. In the painting *Germany's Spiritual Heroes*, for example, a wooden hall filled with torches bears the names of Wagner, Nietzsche and other Germans, many of whom have been politically or morally suspect since their work was embraced to serve National Socialist ideology. The hall appears perilously close to catching fire. These symbolic flames of knowledge are able to destroy the structure that houses them. Similarly, many of the artist's large canvases present brooding, scorched landscapes that reflect, among other things, the spiritual devastation of Nazi bloodletting.

Highly characteristic of Kiefer's methodology is the ability to load one symbolic image with a broad assortment of subtexts. The recurring depiction of an old-fashioned, four-legged bathtub is among the clearest examples. As part of the Nazis' campaign for good hygiene, a superficially innocuous policy that actually was laden with racial purity ideals, this bathtub was mass-produced and distributed by the millions. Paintings and photographic series on the subject of the Jews crossing the Red Sea in the tub instantly engage the viewer to place the Biblical event in the context of the Holocaust, and the play on words with "bloodbath" easily comes to mind. But there is a second play on words in German. The word for "bathtub" is "Badwanne," while the homonym "Badwahn" means "bath insanity." It is this meaning that Kiefer had in mind when he portrayed a series of a naval battles fought with toy ships. In World War II the German High Command actually used a tub and similar toys to plan "Operation Sea Lion," a tremendously flawed strategy to invade England.

Having embraced some of the darkest themes of any recognized artist, couched in a dense, esoteric iconography drawn from such disparate sources as German cultural and military history, Nazi architecture, alchemy, myths and the Bible, Anselm Kiefer would seem remarkably well-suited for a career of terminal obscurity. Yet despite the tremendously demanding nature of his work (and without studying the highly perceptive catalogue by Mark Rosenthal accompanying the exhibit, abandon ye all hope of grasping much of Kiefer's output), there is an immediately accessible, imposing presence to his works. They capture the essence of a haunted land. Look a little deeper, Kiefer beckons, and you'll glimpse the abyss between idealized nature and the living hell that arose from the same ideals. As Rosenthal observes, his blacked, scorched landscapes show "the province of the landscape to be human suffering, not the glory of nature."

**Teutonic icons:** This haunted state extends to the realm of myth and symbol as well. The Teutonic icons projected in Kiefer's art—Siegfried and Brünhilde, the Mastersingers of Nuremberg, the tree of Yggdrasil, Arminius' victory over the Romans—are all cast into doubt by his ironic treatments. The heroic symbols of a people have been devalued into Nazi kitsch, burdened by a historical association with Hitler's new mythology. Kiefer prompts his audience to re-evaluate the power and role of myth in the light of

Continued on page 22



# EDITORIAL

IN THESE TIMES

"...with liberty and justice for all"



Our House

## Americans are victims of our own "defense"

"You'd think we had some kind of enemy down there trying to do away with us," says Marvin Clawson, whose farm is only yards away from the Feed Materials Production Center in Fernald, Ohio. The plant, whose water towers sport a red-and-white-checkerboard pattern suggestive of a Ralston Purina chow facility, in fact processes uranium for nuclear weapons factories and military reactors in other parts of the country. Since it was constructed in 1951, the plant has released hundreds of tons of uranium particles into the air and leaked unknown quantities of radioactive water into local wells and the Great Miami river. And the people of this southern Ohio farming community have suffered agonizing sicknesses and the deaths of friends and family, as well as the trauma caused both by knowledge of the radioactive emissions and government officials' lies.

**Scars of neglect:** For years the government had denied that anything was wrong at its nuclear weapons plants. It had denied that there were significant leaks, and it continues to insist that even if there were, the resulting radiation was not dangerous. But in recent weeks a flood of revelations about safety violations, escaped radiation, nuclear accidents and unsafe working conditions, not only at Fernald, but at the Savannah River Plant near Aiken, S.C., the Rocky Flats plant near Boulder, Colo., and the Hanford Reservation in eastern Washington—have made it clear that in the rush to build superfluous nuclear weapons the federal government has consistently disregarded Americans' health and safety.

Recent revelations suggest that this is not a question of an occasional accident or momentary lapse. In Washington some experts estimate that the farm families living downwind of Hanford have received radiation doses 10 times higher than those received by Soviet citizens at Chernobyl. In one community east of Hanford almost one out of four residents have become ill or died of cancer since the '60s. Nearby, the *New York Times* reported last week, "Men and women raise their chins to show visitors scars on their throats where surgeons removed diseased thyroids." In this region, the white slashes are called "downwinder scars." Local mothers describe the

horror of losing infants to unexplained illnesses, and husbands grow tearful remembering wives who died from cancer, blood disorders or other diseases.

Similarly, problems resulting at Fernald from radiation leaks have been public knowledge and a source of anxiety and frustration for years. In fact, 14,000 southern Ohio residents brought a class-action suit for \$300 million in 1986 against NLO, Inc., the company that operated the Feed Materials plant under contract from the Department of Energy. But until two weeks ago the government and company officials consistently denied that anything was wrong. Then, in a move that was not designed to protect the citizens, but to absolve NLO, Inc., from liability in the class-action suit, the Department of Energy admitted that it had known of the radiation leaks all along. What had appeared to be negligence—even to those suing the corporation operating the plant—the government now admits was willful conduct in clear violation not only of its responsibilities to its citizens, but also of the law.

**And that's not all:** Even in the face of overwhelming circumstantial evidence, Department of Energy officials continue to insist that there is no proof that the illnesses experienced by residents in the vicinity of its nuclear weapons plants are caused by radiation. While the "anecdotes" are compelling, they say, they have not been confirmed scientifically. Like the American Tobacco Company and other cigarette manufacturers who continue to deny that there is any link between smoking and lung cancer, the government contemptuously disregards the health and safety of its citizens so that it can go on building profitable but unnecessary nuclear weapons.

Small wonder then that people like Charles Zinser, a southern Ohio steelworker whose two sons came down with cancer when they were aged eight and three—after they had spent a spring working in what turned out to be a contaminated garden near the Fernald plant—is losing faith in his country. "I'll only feel comfortable being an American citizen," he told the *New York Times* last week, "if there's a system of accountability put upon these people."

In short, our "Defense" Department cares more about defending the interests of its giant contractors and the military establishment than about protecting the American people. And although we live in a democracy, these people have for years been accountable only to themselves.

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# LETTERS

## Mary, Mary

JOHN A. LEININGER POSED SOME FASCINATING and far-reaching questions regarding Mary Magdalene and the *Last Temptation of Christ* affair (*ITT*, Sept. 28).

Leininger points out that Mary Magdalene appears in the Bible only as a demonic woman, healed by Jesus, who was a witness to his crucifixion and resurrection. So why has the Church been at such pains to make her into an adulteress or a prostitute? (She was combined by the Roman Catholic Church in the sixth century with the anonymous sinner "whose sins were forgiven for she loved much" in Luke 7:37-50.)

In answer to Leininger's question: the Church's slander of the Magdalene undoubtedly stems from the historical male tendency to cast female archetypes as saints and sinners—or, as Freud put it, mothers and mistresses—a tendency that has been thoroughly analyzed by feminist historians in the last 20 years, including Marina Warner in her excellent book, *Alone of All Her Sex: The Myth and the Cult of the Virgin Mary* (1976). Warner shows that, following the example of Eve, Mary Magdalene was created out of "the powerful undertow of misogyny in Christianity, which associates women with the dangers and degradation of the flesh." She also makes it clear that early Christian tradition preferred its female saints to be sinners first, as in the cases of Thais, Saint Mary of Egypt—who supposedly paid her way to Jerusalem by sleeping with sailors—the anchorite Mary the harlot and the actress Pelagia. And, it could be added, many modern male authors do the same, from the Romantics to Dostoevsky, Hemingway and Kazantzakis. As well as male filmmakers: before Scorsese there was D.W. Griffith's *Intolerance*, where the Magdalene was the pardoned adulteress; Cecil B. DeMille's *King of Kings*, where Christ was seen through Mary Magdalene's loving eyes; and Norman Jewison's *Jesus Christ Superstar* in which Mary Magdalene was redeemed by her love for Jesus.

In all this phallocratic idealization, Jungians can make a good case for the *Doppelgänger* principle, the idea that Mary Magdalene is basically the dark double of the Virgin Mary, her shadow or sinful second self, found deep in every male *anima* and in every male Oedipal desire for the Mother. The latter is double: she is both the good nurturing archetype who is worshipped, and the evil weaning archetype who gets raped, prostituted and/or stoned. In history, this maternal duality arrived very early on the scene and was found in the person of Mary, mother of Jesus, herself. Roman and Jewish scholars of the second century wrote that she had been a prostitute, who, after her betrothal to Joseph, was tried for committing adultery with a Roman-Jewish archer named Panthera who was stationed in Palestine. Her son, according to the Torah, was Jesus ben Panthera, Jesus the son of Panthera.

To the non-Christians, therefore, Mary was the archetypal mother/whore in one person; while the Christians divided her into two complementary beings, the good Mary and the bad.

Finally, like Leininger, we may justifiably wonder at the extent and depth of outrage manifested by the protesters over Scorsese's portrayal of Jesus' sexuality. Their overreaction seems to stem from two main causes, one political and the other psycho-historical.

Politically speaking, it is obvious that the current attack is orchestrated by Jerry Falwell and his legions in an attempt to consolidate their Reagan victories over what they consider to be a plague of creeping humanism in the American ethos.

Scott Bates  
Sewanee, Tenn.

## Double standards

I SUPPORT THE PALESTINIANS' RIGHT TO LIVE IN peace in their own homeland. That being said, I also believe that most analysts on the left ignore the fact that the greatest oppressors of Moslem people in the Middle East are the existing Arab governments.

While some of the criticisms leveled at Israel by these governments are valid, I believe that their criticism serves the more important objective of diverting people's discontent away from their oppression at home. The way that the Arab states' media blame it all on the "Zionist entity" reminds me of how Joseph McCarthy would blame all he didn't like on the "communists."

I also believe that a double standard exists in the criticism leveled against acts by Israel and by other Middle Eastern governments. While it's necessary and important to criticize Israel's handling of the *intifada*, what would the left be saying if it had been Israel instead of Algeria killing hundreds of unarmed protesters the week of October 11? Similarly, what would we have heard if it had been Israel instead of Iraq who used poison gas on its Kurdish citizens? Or if it had been Israel instead of Syria who killed over 8,000 dissidents in the city of Hama, or for that matter if it had been Israel instead of Saudi Arabia who gave asylum to mass murderer Idi Amin?

As the anti-Israel posters in the Washington subway put it recently, we need one yardstick for human rights, whether we're looking at Israel, at South Africa or at the existing Arab governments.

Edward Levy  
Silver Spring, Md.

## Booze pushers

YOUR RECENT BOOK REVIEW ENTITLED "ADDICTIONS American Style" (*ITT*, Sept. 28) was particularly welcome because it touched on a topic, alcoholism, that is rarely discussed in left circles.

Alcohol-related problems are subjects of

great concern to the American public, yet through disinterest, progressives have allowed conservatives to "own" this issue and to put their own spin on it.

Alcoholic beverages, according to government reports, are responsible for some 100,000 deaths a year and economic losses on the order of \$130 billion.

The alcohol lobby makes the cigarette lobby look like small potatoes. It includes not only brewers, distillers and vintners but also taverns, liquor stores, wholesalers and distributors, magazine publishers, billboard owners, broadcasters, several labor unions and even professional sports teams, some of which are owned by alcohol magnates and all of whose players benefit from beer advertising.

Industry lobbyists have successfully beaten back every threat to raise federal beer and wine excise taxes since 1951; the resulting lower prices mean that taxpayers are subsidizing alcohol sales. Industry strategy calls for organizing low-income people to fight higher taxes, an alliance that is deeply disturbing.

The beer and wine industries and their friends in the broadcast industry have also successfully beaten back efforts to balance ads on radio and TV with health and safety messages about alcohol.

The booze industry derives about half its profits from sales to heavy drinkers and alcoholics. This industry's executives are no different from back-alley drug pushers, except that they are able to run slick ads on TV, fill the coffers of both political parties and dine with presidents in the White House.

The debate about alcohol has shifted somewhat over the past few years. But every step taken to frame this critical problem in terms of public health and economic interests has been matched by heightened advertising and lobbying by alcohol producers and their allies. Their interests are clear: blame their best customers while taking the moral high ground by underwriting groups like Students Against Drunk Driving and buying good-corporate-citizen points by running "Friends Don't Let Friends Drive Drunk" or "Know When to Say When" ads.

I hope that *In These Times* and the progressive community more generally can become much more involved in exposing the clout of the booze industry—it has few equals in the corridors of power. If we don't educate the public about how the industry works, we'll be leaving the playing field to conservatives who will attempt to focus the political debate on individual "alcohol abusers" and their individual need to seek recovery, while ignoring the broader social and economic climate that promotes drink-

ing and alcohol problems, including alcoholism.

Michael F. Jacobson, Ph.D.  
Center for Science  
in the Public Interest

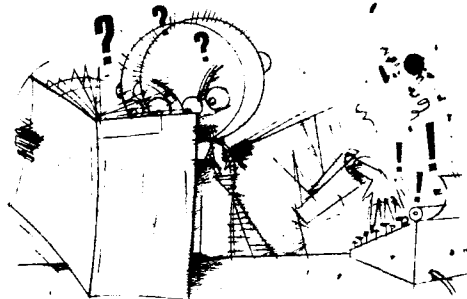
## Time to grow up

KATHLEEN DAHL (*ITT*, OCT. 5) ATTACKS ALEX Cockburn and Abbie Hoffman for writing in *Playboy* magazine, then *ITT* and *The Nation* for quoting from the Hoffman article. Everyone touched is now a "so-called radical, well-fed, healthy and wealthy white male leftist."

Isn't she aware that among other "so-called radicals" who have submitted to the lengthy *Playboy* interviews are Yassir Arafat, Fidel Castro, Jesse Jackson and Daniel Ortega? She's a simplistic isolationist not living in the real world. I read the article in question, a damning indictment of the Reagan-Bush campaign in 1980 and a convincing argument that the Irangate government panels did not do their jobs.

I'm glad millions of Americans "outside the left" read such a story. Dahl does not understand how few mass media outlets are available to progressive writers. The "girlie mag" of my generation was *Esquire*; still it was the first mass media periodical to attack Hitler and Mussolini, and to support the Lincoln Brigade against Franco. I enjoy reading Mr. Cockburn in *The Wall Street Journal* but I don't conclude he's a staunch capitalist. Purist nonsense such as Dahl implies in her name-calling constricts the left to a narrow irrelevant fringe. What gives her the right to castigate some of our most creative writers? Divisive drive!

Mary Wells-Davis  
New York

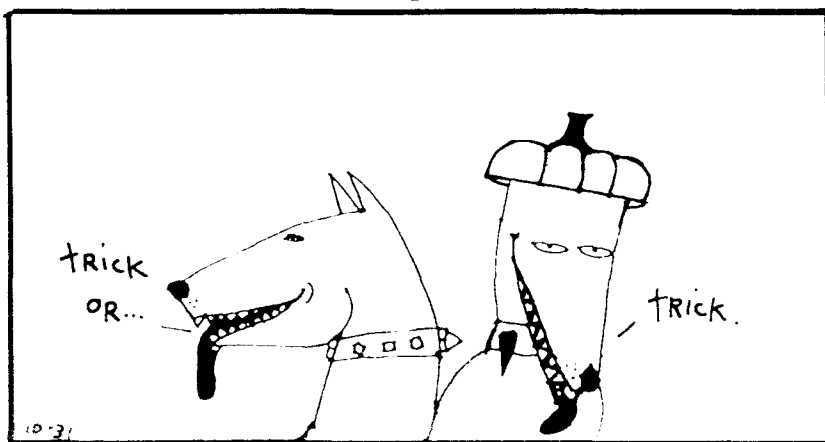


**Editor's note:** Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

## SYLVIA



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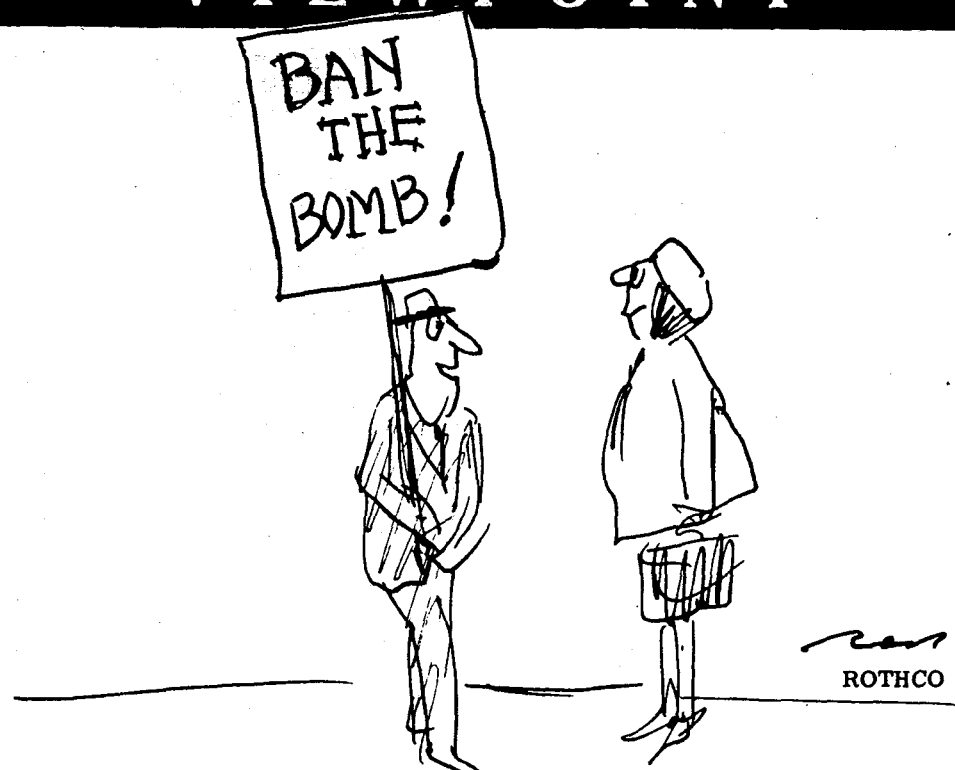
By Jonathan Feldman

**A** GROWING RECOGNITION THAT THE Cold War has ended with the intermediate-range nuclear missile force accord (INF) has created a growing predicament for the peace movement. Anti-nuclear canvassers are finding that selling peace through fear of nuclear war is ineffective. President Reagan has seized the peace offensive from the Washington peace lobby, and foundations have responded to the renewed detente by turning their attention to domestic issues. Taken together, these developments contributed to the demise of the Coalition for a New Foreign Policy and numerous staff layoffs at other national peace organizations.

But while the movement falters, the arms race continues unabated. Already the political and military significance of the INF reductions are being negated by increases in other more lethal nuclear weapons and increases in unprecedentedly lethal non-nuclear weapons. This reversal occurred in part as a consequence of the peace movement's historic and continued limited focus on single-issue, short-term measures. This has narrowed campaigns to focus on stopping a particular weapons system or, at best, to stop nuclear testing. Invariably, the Pentagon can develop weapons systems faster than the peace movement can organize to stop them.

The movement has avoided a comprehensive approach in the hope of building a grass-roots base around simple, identifiable single issues. In the style of many community organizers, the movement has been looking for victories that inspire confidence. But Reagan and Bush have beaten the movement at this game, successfully peddling INF as the fruits of peace through strength. Reagan has also used the Strategic Defense Initiative to alleviate the same fear of nuclear destruction that advanced the nuclear freeze as a movement. The movement's response to Reagan's offensive has been to engage in its own form of wishful thinking. Some see INF as their own handiwork, rather than the logical outcome of U.S. and Soviet economies devastated by debt, deficits and military waste.

The left wing of the peace movement has offered its own response to the post-INF muddle. Some groups have called for coalitions around military cuts and an expansion in domestic social programs. However, having made this important link, the left also has been silent about concrete proposals for disarmament, planning for peace without depression and reducing the power of the national security apparatus. Instead, some left academics have argued that the military economy is the inevitable by-product of the capitalist system. They believe that the benefits of the war economy to transnationals and elite military planners make serious military cuts impossible and full-scale conversion to civilian production. But, their alternative "anti-capitalist" approach has never had an operational component. The critics have never addressed the direct employment needs of workers confronted by military layoffs. Nor have they addressed the opportunities for environmental, community and labor coalitions, planning and investment that could occur during conversion to civilian production.



"ISN'T IT A BEAUTY? I PICKED IT UP AT A THRIFT SHOP. IT'S EARLY FIFTIES!"

## Peace movement decline requires new approach

**Political bankruptcy:** The peace movement is now devoid of any coherent discussion of the political targets for reduction of the military economy. The movement is not even clear about what legislative proposals would serve its expressed support for comprehensive arms reductions. Instead, large-scale coalition efforts promote a vague discussion of common needs and mutual concerns. The lowest common denominator has been advanced rather than a careful assessment of where to project resources and concentrate efforts. Coalitions built around national demonstrations have often led to dilution of a coherent peace perspective or critique of the warmaking institutions. Instead, the needs of particular groups are addressed in an ad hoc fashion.

Having agreed upon common needs and a commitment to put the resources of the

### Reagan's initiatives undercut traditional anti-nuke lobby.

military economy at the disposal of pressing civilian investments, which way do we turn? To answer this question we must address the reality of the military economy and the institutional actors that lie behind intervention, nuclear proliferation and war production. More than 20 million U.S. citizens are dependent on the military for their livelihood. They belong to families that serve in the armed forces or work in the military-industrial complex. The political result of this dependency has been to block substantial military reductions. First, the Pentagon has orchestrated a series of campaigns against military cuts. Laid-off employees have been organized as constituencies on behalf of increased or stable military budgets. Second, increased military dependency among military-serving firms (measured by defense contracts as a proportion of total sales), trade unions (measured by dues-paying workers in military industry as a proportion of total members) and regions (measured by industrial shipments going to the Defense Department as a ratio of total shipments) across the country has increased the barriers to arms reductions. In addition, the TV networks are increasingly captives of the leading military-industrial firms. For example, General Electric owns NBC.

**Possible solutions:** There is an alternative to vague appeals for defense cuts and reactive protests that offer no alternative plans of action. Twenty-six years ago policy-makers at the highest levels of the U.S. government were actively engaged in the formulation of such plans for general and complete disarmament. They focused on the need for mutually verifiable, phased weapons reductions and the strengthening of international institutions for conflict resolution. In 1961 John J. McCloy, President Kennedy's special adviser on disarmament, and Valerian Zorin, special ambassador of the Soviet Union, reached accord on the "Joint Statement of Agreed Principles for Disarmament" negotiations. These discussions led to the development of an "Outline of Basic Provisions on General and Complete Disarmament," presented by the U.S. government to the Eighteen Nation Disarmament Conference in Geneva in 1962. Today, a revised version of such comprehensive proposals has been drafted by Marcus Raskin, co-founder of the Institute for Policy Studies. It is a 15-year program of phased reductions and strengthened institutions and procedures for resolving international conflict without resorting to war. This treaty program offers a concrete focal point for both political discussion and organized action in Congress.

Complementing the Raskin disarmament proposals are legislative plans for

economic conversion. By readying military-serving firms, bases and laboratories for civilian production, conversion planning provides options for workers and their families who have been conscripted and employed in service to the military. A model conversion bill drafted by Rep. Ted Weiss (D-NY) now has 59 co-sponsors in the House of Representatives. The Defense Economic Adjustment Act provides funds for local planning, retraining of military laborers and engineers, income maintenance during a conversion and the creation of joint labor-management alternative-use committees that oversee conversion at each facility receiving military contracts.

In addition to the Weiss bill, economic alternatives are needed for the millions of armed forces personnel who face unemployment as they are demobilized after comprehensive disarmament. One proposal that seeks to provide alternatives for communities forced into the armed forces by economic conscription is a "future corps" bill in the Massachusetts legislature. Such proposals need to be supplemented by national legislation that would provide educational and employment opportunities for the millions now serving in the nation's armed forces.

For the anti-intervention movement there are alternatives to ad hoc protests and calls for cutting arms sales to repressive states. The disarmament of the warfare state requires a national movement to develop legal constraints on the use of force, budgetary reductions of institutions of covert action and a popular awareness of the dangers to domestic liberties of a warfare state. Formal proposals in this direction include cutting the CIA's budget in half and Rep. John Conyers' (D-MI) Official Accountability Act of 1987, which calls for legal sanctions against national security bureaucrats who violate any statute, executive order, or international agreement to which the U.S. is a party.

Legislative proposals do not substitute for grass-roots organizing and efforts to construct meaningful political coalitions. Yet, the political program advanced here defines the core of a solution to the political, economic and socially destructive consequences of militarism. Without conversion and economic alternatives for persons in the armed forces, disarmament efforts will be checkmated by communities locked into the military economy. Without a comprehensive disarmament treaty, conversion plans will be overshadowed by claims that arms cuts mean weakness before other nations' conventional and nuclear arsenals. Without comprehensive conversion and disarmament planning, the proposals advanced by some for new "alternative security arrangements" will lend themselves to a conventional arms buildup. Ad hoc protests against particular interventions leave in place the institutional actors who direct these interventions. In contrast, a comprehensive peace program provides a focal point for efforts to reduce military spending and redirect our resources to pressing needs for housing, mass transit, infrastructure and social investment.

Jonathan Feldman is program director at The National Commission for Economic Conversion and Disarmament in Washington, D.C. and author of *Universities in the Business of Repression*, South End Press, 1989.



## Two-party system: myopic double vision

Iconoclastic philosopher Ivan Illich has pointed out that the basic function of education in today's societies is to make people feel stupid, hence to cow them into lifelong submission. The perversion of democracy known as the two-party system works in the same way, making people feel useless and hence chilling them into indifference.

All the official pretensions have to be turned on their head to make any sense of what is now creaking toward climax on November 8.

Political moralists lament that maybe less than 50 percent of the eligible electorate will bother to vote this time around. (Reagan, remember, in his famous "landslide" over Carter, won with 28 percent of the vote.) But in fact guardians of the status quo are horror-stricken if any constructive effort is made to register more voters, crucial if the country's political geography is to be changed in any serious way. Such guardians include Michael Dukakis, who has consistently turned back efforts to make registration easier in his own state, and whose campaign blocked money going to Jackson-inspired registration drives that might have threatened the power of the traditional political-economic machines.

**Education?** Even if Illich is right, a good deal of public schooling is now so terrible that kids barely have a chance to feel stupid, being lodged in the cruder categories, despised and ignored. Guardians of the status quo favor a semiliterate, marginalized reserve army of the unemployed. They see no urban crisis, having held their political conventions this year in Atlanta and New Orleans without bothering to notice the

**A good deal of public schooling is now so terrible that kids barely have a chance to feel stupid, being lodged in cruder categories, despised and ignored.**

central features of both cities—a vast central black ghetto, proof of the enduring malignant vitality of the Kerner Commission's judgments over 20 years ago on the structural racism and inequalities in American society.

No more than Bush, blathering on about his thousand points of light, does Dukakis recognize the existence of an urban crisis or of an underclass rotting in the catacombs of what is touted as the longest uninterrupted business expansion in American history. Dukakis' vision of education, aside from sentimental fantasies of studious immigrant Greeks on the make, is essentially functionalist-corporate, kin to the Fortune 500 chieftain who earlier this year summed up his humanist vision of education with the complaint that just as his company would not accept a 50 percent recall rate on its products, so too was a 50 percent recall rate on defectively educated kids unacceptable. Dukakis has little use for quality public education.

As Kim Moody points out in his pamphlet *The Truth About Dukakis and the Democrats*

## ASHES & DIAMONDS

By Alexander Cockburn



in Post-Reagan America community colleges in Massachusetts serving working-class areas have been starved. Middlesex Community College, for example, the second largest community college in the state with 13,000 students, has been sharing space with a veterans hospital. The president of the college says, "It's ludicrous. We've been in a temporary facility for 18 years. Dukakis has consistently tried to underfund the University of Massachusetts....His record on primary and secondary education is similarly bad."

Rebecca Thatcher and Beatrix Hoffman write in *The Guardian*, "In a major battle with pro-education state legislators in 1985, Dukakis gutted an education reform bill that would have increased teachers' salaries, mandated early-childhood programs and limited class sizes. This year, in a rush to close a politically embarrassing state budget deficit, Dukakis proposed to cut state funding to local primary and secondary schools by half. All but 13 of 40 communities dependent on state aid would be cut off."

**Vision?** Jesse Jackson distinguished himself from the other candidates by talking to people, particularly those he designated as "damaged" and "dispossessed" in his 1988 convention speech. Bush and Dukakis talk to voter profiles drawn for them by the handlers who sterilize their products against contagion. This is an election in which both candidates have never stopped talking about "jobs" while simultaneously finding it impossible to mention the difficult word "union". (Dukakis did accept the endorsement of the AFL-CIO, but kept well clear of anything smacking of union activity.) Nor has either attacked with any energy the fact that the minimum wage has not risen from \$3.35 in the entire life of the Reagan administration, or that fewer than one-third of American workers who have lost their jobs get unemployment benefits. By October 2, 10 weeks after the Democratic convention, Dukakis had addressed political rallies in black neighborhoods precisely twice. This well-considered insult to traditional black support for the Democratic ticket is presumably what Dukakis means by those "tough decisions" he keeps saying he'll make.

## A Clear Choice

On the Middle East, of course, the difference between the two candidates became manifest as their speeches to B'nai B'rith showed. Bush said, "Peace will be achieved through direct negotiations by the parties," whereas Dukakis has opted for the terser, "Peace must come through direct negotiations." Bush said, "As for the PLO, I will insist that it accept U.N. Resolution 242, recognize Israel's existence, abandon terrorism and change its covenant calling for Israel's destruction," a position from which Dukakis clearly separated himself with the view that, "There can never be a role in negotiations for the PLO unless it renounces terrorism in word and deed, unless it accepts U.N. Resolutions 242 and 338 and unless it clearly and explicitly renounces its own covenant." Whereas Bush pledged, "I am proud that we are working with Israel today on...an anti-tactical ballistic missile," Dukakis opted for the wider promise that, "We are doing all we can to protect Israel from the growing threat of tactical ballistic missiles." In fact, a difference or two can be discerned. In *The Wall Street Journal* Gerald Seib and Barbara Rosenwicz noted that Dukakis says the U.S. should recognize Israeli sovereignty over a united Jerusalem, which Bush, as per U.S. policy, does not. Bush says an independent Palestinian state should be ruled out forever, but Dukakis does not repudiate a statehood option.

And in case you're asking, on paper Dukakis is better on contra aid, South Africa and a whole number of other issues. If elected he probably would not nominate Dan Quayle to the Supreme Court, though the only serving Supreme Court justice placed there by a Democratic president—Byron White by John F. Kennedy—has turned out to be mostly bad. Under Dukakis the National Labor Relations Board might be better, as might the EPA and the Interior Department. It's hard to tell even in these latter cases: environmental regulation was probably best under Nixon and Ford. None of this obliterates the fact that Dukakis has fought a miserable, cowardly, stupid campaign.

Ken Silverstein assisted in the preparation of this column.

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# LIFE IN THE U.S.

By Roger Kerson

**M**ARY GLOVER LOVES TO READ. Like an inquisitive child, she often stays up past her bedtime to read her favorite books. "There's a lamppost outside my bedroom window," she says. "I can open the window and read by the faint light that hits my covers."

Mary Glover is not a child hiding from her parents. She is 33 years old, a convicted murderer and an inmate at the Huron Valley Women's Prison in Ypsilanti, Michigan. She is also—from her prison cell—a sophomore majoring in religious studies at the University of Michigan.

In December Glover won a \$500 writing prize, called a Hopwood Award, from the university for an essay on Zora Neale Hurston's novel, *Their Eyes Were Watching God*. The book is the story of Janie Mae Crawford, a woman acquitted of murder after killing her abusive husband. In her essay, Mary Glover compared Janie's life to her own.

"Like Janie," she wrote, "I fought for my life and for understanding before a jury—but she was the lucky one. I lost. I have been in prison since I was 21 years old....Like Janie, I sit in my room and reflect on my life, and what it means to me to have loved so much and lost. My eyes watch God and wait....I may have lost everything, but I still have all there is. I have myself."

Aspiring writers at Michigan covet the Hopwood Awards as steppingstones to future literary success; previous winners include Arthur Miller and Lawrence Kasdan. The awards are given out in twice-yearly ceremonies, which feature readings by prominent authors such as Norman Mailer, Marge Piercy, and Joyce Carol Oates.

**"Squeaky" goes to school:** Glover's ascent to the rarefied atmosphere of academia—which she usually visits only vicariously, through tapes, notes and books delivered by volunteer student tutors—has been marked by repeated conflicts with prison authorities. There have been difficulties, she says, getting access to study materials. She was almost denied permission to attend the Hopwood Awards ceremony—and when prison officials relented, they sent her to the University of Michigan campus in handcuffs and a belly chain. "It was like I was Squeaky Fromme," says Glover with a laugh. (Guards did uncuff her, she says, before the ceremony started.)

It is unlikely that Mary Glover would ever have become a college student if it were not for the court rulings in *Glover vs. Johnson*, a landmark sex discrimination lawsuit against the Michigan Department of Corrections. The suit, filed by

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## WOMEN



Award-winning writer Mary Glover: behind bars and behind male prisoners in terms of educational opportunity.

## In the college of hard knocks

Glover and other female inmates in 1977, charges that state prisons do not give female inmates access to the same quality and range of educational and vocational programs that are available to male prisoners.

Mary Glover knew about the men's programs, she says, because her husband Grant went to prison at the same time she did. Sitting in the visiting room at Huron Valley, she recalls the details of her crime. It is not a story she enjoys telling.

She and her husband were convicted of murder, Glover explains, after she made a "foolish and impulsive" attempt to steal money from a gas station. She was stopped by an employee, she says, who called the police.

"My husband pulled out a pistol," she says, "to keep me from going to jail." Grant Glover was then jumped from behind, Mary says; the gun went off, and a ricocheting bullet killed one of the gas station employees. Mary is serving 15-to-life for second-degree murder and is eligible for parole in 1991. Grant is "doing life" for first-degree murder with no chance of parole.

When the Glovers first went to prison in 1976, Mary was sent to the Detroit House of Corrections (DoHoCo) because at that time the state of Michigan did not have enough female inmates to run its own women's prison. Grant went to the State Prison of Southern Michigan in Jackson, the largest walled prison in the world, with several thousand inmates and a relatively well-developed education and vocational training program.

Nearly one-fourth of the class credit hours of nearby Jackson Community College, for example, are accounted for by prison inmates; the prison offers a variety of vocational activities, including an industry program that allows inmates to get on-the-job experience.

Work assignments at DoHoCo, on the other hand, were menial

tasks designed to maintain the prison. "I started getting letters describing this wealth of opportunities," Glover explains, "and I was sitting in DoHoCo with a toilet brush in my hand."

In 1979—after a trial in which Grant Glover testified about educational and vocational programs at the Jackson prison—federal Judge John Feikens ruled in favor of Mary Glover and her fellow women prisoners. "Significant discrimination against the female prison population occurs in several areas, in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment," he wrote, "and must be corrected."

One result of Feiken's decision was a substantial improvement in a haphazard program of community college classes that had been offered at the newly opened Huron Valley Women's Facility, making it easier for women to earn two-year associate degrees. Mary Glover earned two such degrees, that enabled her to qualify for admission to the University of Michigan in 1987.

**Stretching out to study:** Mary Glover is not the first woman to take advantage of the opportunities created by the lawsuit that bears her name. Susan Fair and Joyce Dixon, both in prison for murder, are also U of M students. Fair was admitted in 1983, Dixon in 1987. Both are presently incarcerated at the Florence Crane Women's Facility in Coldwater, Michigan.

"My biggest study time is between 11 p.m. and 3 a.m.," says Joyce Dixon. The prison is never quiet, she explains, except during those late-night, early-morning hours. Unlike Mary Glover, Dixon isn't lucky enough to have a lamp

**Women inmates must fight for the same opportunities afforded men.**

outside her window, and prisoners are not allowed to have flashlights. She stretches out on the floor to read, catching the dim glow from a tiny night-light, a little colored bulb that rests 22 inches off the ground.

**"You liked it, didn't you?"** Life in prison is a long series of such improvisations, says Susan Fair. She is a political science major, and also a writing student. In April of 1988 Fair won a \$1,500 Hopwood prize for a 102-page essay called "The Visit," a fascinating account of a day in the life of a woman prisoner.

"Allowing a male guard to pat me down is worse than...a strip search with a female guard," Fair wrote, describing what she has to go through to re-enter her dormitory unit after a session in the prison visiting room:

*We refer to this guard as the gorilla....It makes my skin crawl just to look at him, let alone to permit him to touch me.*

*As I expected, he lingers on my breasts.*

*"This is a shakedown, not a massage, mister," I say through clenched teeth.*

*"Oh come on. You know you like it," he replies, squeezing my nipples hard between his thumbs and forefingers.*

*My hands involuntarily knock his hands away. The heel of my right foot quite voluntarily comes down hard on the instep of his right foot.*

*"Oh I'm so sorry," I say. "I guess I lost my balance. But you liked it, didn't you sweetheart?"*

Two literary awards for three students from prison is not a bad record. But Joyce Dixon also entered the Hopwood contest, and Richard Meisler, a soft-spoken English instructor at the University of Michigan who serves as academic adviser to all three women, thinks she should have won too.

"I think Joyce is a terrific writer," says Meisler, a former faculty

member at Antioch University, an alternative liberal arts college in Ohio. Usually, he says, he is not a big fan of the Hopwood Awards.

"It creates a star system of writers among the students," he explains, "and I hate what it does to the losers." In the case of his prison students, however, "I suggested it, and I expected all three of them to win."

Meisler met Susan Fair in 1983, when he was teaching English classes at Huron Valley Women's Facility through a local community college, and encouraged her to apply to the University of Michigan. Fair was not allowed to travel to the school, so volunteer students brought her books and lecture tapes. The students ran into repeated interference from prison authorities, however, because some of the educational materials they were carrying were not on the list of approved items for prisoners.

"We aren't going to let people willy-nilly just drop things off at the institution," says Judy Kalmanach, an administrator for the Department of Corrections. "Some of the things they wanted to bring in were a challenge to our rules." The "things" in question, recalls Richard Meisler, included items such as blank notebooks and Magic Markers.

Access to school materials wasn't Fair's only problem. After she began taking college classes, she says, prison authorities moved her from cell to cell 16 different times within the space of a year. "Every single time," she says, "they would confiscate all my school materials." At one point, Fair was hit with a disciplinary write-up for having "excess property," because inmates are only allowed one footlocker full of personal belongings.

Her "excess property" consisted of books and papers for her coursework; eventually, Judge Feikens ordered the prison to provide her with an extra footlocker for her school materials. Fair eventually requested a transfer to Crane, she says, "because it was obvious I couldn't stay at the Valley. All I was going to do was move." Prison officials, she says, are violently opposed to college programs for women inmates. "They figured if they could stop me, that would put an end to it. So they were going to harass me until I said 'I quit.' Then, U of M might pull out."

Nonsense, says Tekla Miller, the warden at Huron Valley. "Susan Fair has been in segregation because of her behavior," she says, not because of any harassment by prison authorities. Miller is backed up by Department of Corrections administrator Judy Kalmanach. Fair, says Kalmanach, "had a very serious misconduct. Her record was a very difficult one, and she was considered a dangerous management case."



Miller denies that she is opposed to college programs for women, but explains that it is difficult to get outside institutions interested in running classes because such a small number of students are involved. In any case, she says, advanced educational programs are not as important as providing basic skills for the majority of prisoners, many of whom can barely read or write.

"The major thing these people need is employability skills," Miller says. "We have to deal with people and make sure they can read an application."

Fair doesn't buy that explanation. As far as she's concerned, the prison system should be upgrading all levels of its educational programs. And while it's true that many

prisoners need remedial instruction, she says, everyone benefits when prisoners are given a chance to aim for higher horizons. "There's a statistic," she says, "which shows that anyone who has 15 hours or more of college classes...has a smaller chance of recidivism."

She sees a method, however, in the madness that leads prison administrators to fight over whether or not a prisoner should be able to get a Magic Marker from a visiting college student. It's the same kind of class-based discrimination, she says, that lands women in prison in the first place.

"If I'm Ford or Dow or A.H. Robins," she says, "and I create an environment in which hundreds, maybe thousands of people will be killed or maimed for life, we don't

even define that as murder.

"But if I don't have any education, or any employment opportunity, if I'm poor and a minority, and I find myself in a situation I can't cope with, and I blow up, and I wind up taking a single life—I'm going to prison for life."

How come some people get stuck without a decent education? Unfortunately, says Fair, it's a function of whether or not you are lucky enough to be born into a wealthy family. "If I live in Grosse Pointe," says Fair, referring to a wealthy Detroit suburb where high property values support an expensive school system, "I go to a school where they spend \$7,500 per kid each year. If I live in Cass Corridor [an inner-city Detroit neighborhood], they spend \$2,000 a year.

"Who winds up here?" she asks, gesturing at the prison. "The kids who grew up in Cass Corridor."

**A tale of two Glovers:** The *Glover vs. Johnson* lawsuit that gave Fair, Glover and Dixon the chance to go to college is more than 10 years old now. But the litigation is still not finished; Judge Feikens is not satisfied that Michigan prison authorities are in full compliance with his order to improve educational programs for women prisoners. In November of 1986 he issued a contempt citation against the Michigan Department of Corrections, which is currently under appeal to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Sixth Circuit.

Whatever the eventual outcome of the case, some facts speak for themselves. Mary Glover and her

husband Grant entered prison at the same time, in 1976. In the 12 years since, Mary has been able to earn one-and-one-half years of credit towards a bachelor's degree.

Grant Glover, on the other hand, has finished not one but two bachelor's degrees and is working on his master's degree, and he also has completed a 2,000-hour apprenticeship course, qualifying him as a journeyman tool and die maker.

Mary Glover and her fellow inmates went to court 11 years ago to correct such disparities. As far as at least one federal judge is concerned, the Michigan prison system is not competent to correct the problem on its own. ■

**Roger Kerson** is a Chicago freelance writer.

## Bearable lightness of being at the circus



Juggling perceptions with the Moscow Circus.

By Joel Schechter

**T**HE RUSSIAN BEAR, ONCE A DREAD symbol of Soviet aggression, is now dancing across the U.S. and winning applause nightly from innocent children and their parents. Along with clowns, jugglers, acrobats and equestrians, the bears in the Moscow Circus could reduce American mistrust of the Soviets more fully than an arms agreement or troop withdrawal from Afghanistan. The intimate, one-ring circus may be seen by as many as two million spectators this fall, as it visits 15 American cities.

Once citizens see the brown bears waddle on their hind legs, juggle cylinders with their feet and dance like humans dressed in sleek animal costumes, they may discount any political cartoon that depicts the Soviet bruin as a menace.

### SPECTACLE

One docile animal even bends a leg and offers his human companion flowers.

Animal rights activists might protest that these creatures and the circus tigers are an exploited labor force. But the animals look well-fed. The Russian circus clown Vladimir

Durov pioneered painless techniques of animal training that prevail throughout his country, if not ours. The bears may be happy, but a more liberating act would be a dance of humans in bear suits. The Russian bears look almost human as it is; why not make the act completely anthropocentric, by replacing the animals with men and women? America's Pickle Family Circus pioneered this liberation of circus animals, with its all-human Gorilla Chorus Line.

If the bears and other USSR performers help dispel North American mistrust of Russians, perhaps the Moscow Circus will earn the appraisal that a *New Yorker* critic gave it in 1958, when he saw the circus in Paris. He called it "a propaganda troupe mostly composed of too many jugglers, acrobats, and some highly superior trained bears...which have had the most disarming effect on Paris of anything Muscovite since the October Revolution."

**Audience disarmament:** If this circus is subversive at all, its dangers arise through displays of humor, physical coordination and courage that disarm the audience. Even in the aerial ballet commemorating Soviet soldiers who fell in World War II, the grace of the performers and not their politics commands attention. The Flying Cranes, a group of 10 aerialists, swan-dive from great heights into a net, hurl themselves toward trapeze bars, fly upward on thin wires, to recount a tale about soldiers whose spirits turn into peaceful cranes. With great precision and beauty, their ballet offers tribute to a legend, hardly a social realist enactment of it.

While the Cranes are reverential in their art, the circus clowns ridicule art itself in several routines. A short, stout clown named Margulyan leads audience members in a bell-ringing concert, and intimates that anyone can join his act. But when he asks a woman in the front row to play a violin, he goes too far. She scrapes out terrible sounds. After her comic false starts, she begins to play beautiful

classical music, and one realizes that even her mistakes in this parody were well-rehearsed.

Later a clown trio, the Shakhnins, announce that they will perform a Hungarian rhapsody. What these musicians do to the rhapsody can perhaps be compared to what Russian tanks did to Budapest in 1956, but clearly the violence this time is much funnier. First the xylophone collapses, then the trombone player catches his suspenders in his instrument, the violinist breaks a bow poking the pianist, the piano legs break after some particularly discordant notes. A small orchestra is demolished with superb slapstick timing; the anarchy of this concert to end all concerts is closer to Groucho Marx than Karl.

The circus concludes with daredevil horseback riding; steeds speed around the ring while men balance on them—or underneath them—in precarious positions. The riders unfurl Soviet and U.S. flags at the end of their act. George Bush might not approve of such binational flag-waving, but in New York spectators applauded gener-

ously.

**A circus gap:** One advantage of generous Soviet state support for circus arts is that it allows the USSR to be self-sufficient in its supply of circus artists. When America's Ringling Brothers, Barnum and Bailey sent an "All-American" circus to Moscow in 1963, only one act had originated in the U.S.; all the others involved artists trained in other countries. Perhaps the U.S. government should consider increasing national funding of circus arts to close the "circus gap"; it would be far less expensive than trying to close a weapons gap.

One small note of discontent about an otherwise admirable production: the circus tour's American sponsor, Snuggle fabric softener of Lever Brothers, announced that Snuggle, "the product's spokesbear," can be seen "in local market appearances in the U.S. circus tour cities." If Snuggle were smart, he would defect to the Moscow Circus, spend his life dancing and never have to sell fabric softener again. ■

**Joel Schechter** is the New Haven Green Party's candidate for state Senate this November.

### FILM CLIPS

**Coverup: Behind the Iran Contra Affair**  
Directed by Barbara Trent

Regular readers of *In These Times* may find the revelations in *Coverup* old news, but in this case old news is good news. Director Barbara Trent and writer Eve Goldberg coherently present Iran-Contra's complicated weave of arms dealers, CIA drug barons, military "self-starters" and Reagan administration officials who stumbled onto the "neat idea" of illegally funding the contras with profits from illegal Iranian arms sales. Needless to say, a film that can sort through this morass of obfuscation and disinformation is something of a logistical coup.

More a plausible circumstantial chain of evidence than an air-tight case, *Coverup* nonetheless

seems to be striking a responsive chord: the 72-minute documentary is screening theatrically in dozens of cities and is available in video shops nationwide. Although the film leans a little too heavily on Daniel Sheehan and the now-dismissed Christic Institute lawsuit, the rough outline and historical backdrop of the arms-for-hostages, drugs-for-guns pipeline is clearly drawn.

Obviously, more complete examinations of various strands of this tangled knot of overlapping scandals have appeared in *In These Times* and other publications, but you'd be hard-pressed to find a better Iran-contra primer. For more information contact: The Empowerment Project, Santa Monica, CA (213) 828-8807.

—Jeff Reid



**Libra**  
By Don DeLillo  
Viking, 456 pp., \$19.95

By John O'Kane

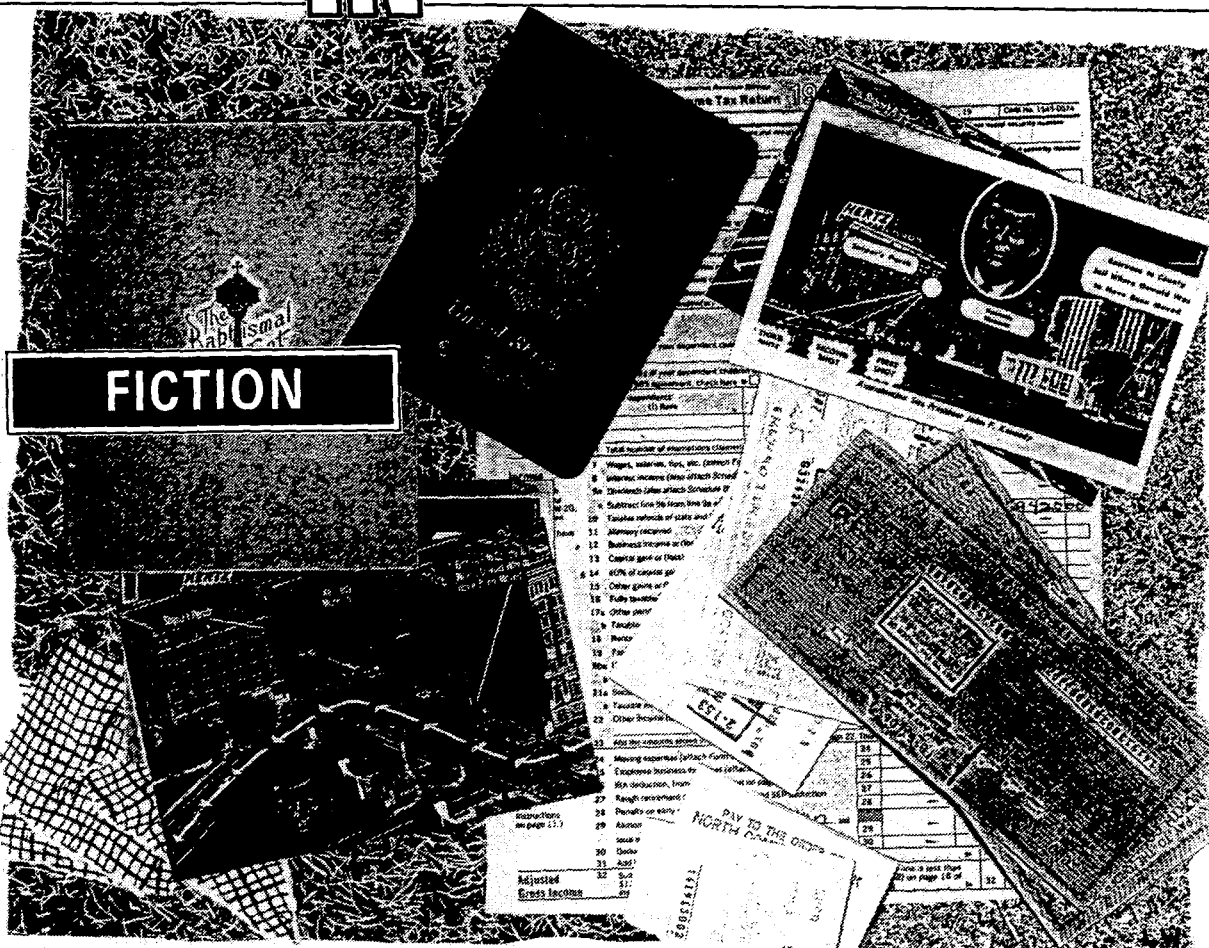
IN THIS 25TH ANNIVERSARY YEAR OF THE Kennedy assassination, all the myths, clichés and rhetoric surrounding JFK as some sort of "hero," as well as the broader political and cultural meaning of Kennedy "liberalism," have trailed off into meaningless platitudes. The verdict is in: little was accomplished during his years except the Vietnam buildup and the entrenchment of military might that scripted the war scenario once again for the following decade.

But assassination fascination remains with us, perhaps because, as recent polls have shown, JFK is still the century's most popular president among '80s consumers. What is left but to deconstruct the Kennedy aura when it was most contradictory—just before the assassination. And Don DeLillo is the premier social critic writing fiction in America today, the one best able to challenge the obvious and investigate systems and conspiracies.

**Consummate watchdog:** He has had a lot of practice. *Libra* is his ninth experiment in this vein, which began with *Americana* (1971). The penchant to expose the brutality of an immoral, self-perpetuating bureaucracy was one of the premier sentiments of the '60s, and DeLillo, who came of age in these times, performs the task of consummate watchdog over and over again.

He probed the psychology of the jock culture for evidence of how conditioning through sports can lock hands with political violence and the warrior spirit (*End Zone*, 1972). He went behind the scenes to tell us what the superstar rock culture was like after corporate-monied conspiracies turned art and person into standard formula in the late '60s (*Great Jones Street*, 1973). He showed how—in timely post-Watergate fashion—the actors on Wall Street can become terrorists (*Players*, 1977). He exposed new levels of violence and inhumanity in American life after Vietnam that were unleashed by the war experience (*Running Dog*, 1978). He unveiled the impact of new technologies on '80s consumer behavior (*White Noise*, 1985).

In *Libra*, DeLillo deconstructs the Kennedy aura through a fictionalized Lee Harvey Oswald, the one whose actions gave JFK new life through death, but also the one whose "sleazy" existence in the years before the assassination sheds complex light on Kennedyism. DeLillo accomplishes two important tasks in *Libra*. Tracing the evolution of Oswald's life from a poverty-ridden nightmare of illiteracy to his death at the hands of



## Don DeLillo's *Libra*: a novel of subversion and a subversion of the novel

Jack Ruby (the account based on the historical record), he sets up the likely possibility that Oswald *could* have fallen into the designs of an embittered CIA faction plotting to kill JFK. DeLillo imaginatively maps out the intrigue among the actors in this alienated subculture.

Oswald's history, as presented by DeLillo, is a textbook case of the loner who flounders through a labyrinth of possible identities in order to avoid remaining an anonymous cipher. Reacting to an impoverished upbringing and his mother's over-protective/manipulative sentiments, Lee fulfills a fantasy nourished by years of dilettantish attention to Marxist literature. He "defects" to the Soviet Union in the early '60s to symbolically realize his disdain for the capitalist system's exploitative imprint upon him.

**New! Improved! Alienation:** Unable to assimilate because suspected of being a "false defector," he lives for two years at the edge of a socialism that gradually nurtures a new brand of alienation. Returning to the U.S. with a Soviet wife, Oswald performs the role of the disgruntled anti-hero, now forever watched over by the likes of the FBI and CIA. Maladjustment continues until his death. He remains a lumpen in the American way, shifting from one marginal existence to another, now alienated by both extreme ideologies of the

Cold War era (though never losing interest in leftist literature). Toward the end he fantasizes about Cuba, perhaps a sort of third alternative.

The twist is that the substance of these options hardly seems to matter. Oswald lives in a fantasy world prompted by years of retreat from life's vital centers. He's a low-rent equivalent of T.S. Eliot's emasculated Prufrock, accumulating life's experiences at one remove. DeLillo is a master of repetitions that work almost like a film montage to sum up a character or state of mind. He speaks for Oswald with this: "There is a world inside the world."

What matters for Oswald is recognition and the chance for his romantic-identification fantasies to have at least a temporary life. He wants to study political and economic theory, to be a true intellectual of the next revolution, but the urges of his fantasy life are too powerful. He repeatedly imagines Trotsky. When in the Bronx as a shiftless late-teenager, Oswald remembers the address where Trotsky had been a few blocks away. At one point he fantasizes Trotsky "brushing roaches off the page, reading economic theory in a hovel in eastern Siberia, exiled with his wife and baby girl." He acquires the nickname Leon.

As a leftist, Oswald might be assumed to be rabidly anti-Kennedy, which would provide the very basis

for interest in him by a vengeance-driven CIA. He does display consistency of action in DeLillo's account, willingly firing shots at JFK on that fateful day (though we don't know if they were the only or fatal shots). But the desire to be recognized appears to govern.

Oswald remains "dazzled by the Kennedy magic," as does his wife Marina who imagines what it's like to be such a famous, omnipresent force with the power to enter dreams and fantasies and the very act of lovemaking between husbands and wives ("she thought of the President sometimes, in pictures taken near the sea, while Lee was making love to her"). Lee is obsessed with Kennedy's nuances and interests, mimicking each one he discovers. Kennedy's fascination with James Bond novels, for instance, as well as the writings of Mao and Che, hook Oswald. But Oswald's interest is placed under suspicion by a quintessential DeLilloan irony: "He got a biography of the President which said that Kennedy had read *The White Nile*. He went to the library to get *The White Nile* but it was out. He took *The Blue Nile* instead."

**Branching out:** In the vein of all good non-fiction novels, *Libra* mocks the notion of a factual, provable conspiracy. And spliced between the fictional episodes is another story that plays with the very possibility of documentary truth. Nicholas Branch, a CIA agent assigned to find the truth for the agency, is a complex ironic figure who lets DeLillo have it both ways. The story proper, without the Branch segments, is a relatively unambiguous tale of a CIA revenge plot against JFK. But the documentary inserts suggest in characteristic deconstructive fashion that facts of the case are so numerous,

conflicting, and suggestive of possible patterns that they create a fictional life of their own.

Throughout most of the book Branch is inundated with data. He has everything: baptismal records, report cards, postcards, divorce petitions, canceled checks, daily time sheets, tax returns, property lists, postoperative X-rays, photos of knotted string, thousands of pages of testimony. He has records of the suicides, murders and disappearances of people associated with the assassination. But he is stuck; he "thinks this is the megaton novel James Joyce would have written if he'd moved to Iowa City and lived to be a hundred." He has nothing. "The endless fact-rubble of the investigations. How many shots, how many gunmen, how many directions? Powerful events breed their own network of inconsistencies. The simple facts elude authentication." He decides it is premature to turn them into "coherent history." The data keeps coming and the past "is changing as he writes."

But DeLillo checks his playful impulses. Branch finally seems to implicate a system that intentionally doesn't want to know. He finds worrisome omissions in the record. Conspiracy? Branch understands that the Agency is a "closed system," that they will not reveal what they've learned to other agencies, "much less the public." And so it is understandable that this history he has contracted to write is a secret one, meant for the CIA's own closed collections.

But he asks: "Why are they withholding material from him as well? There's something they aren't telling him. The Curator delays, lately, in filling certain requests for information, seems to ignore other requests completely. What are they holding back? How much more is there? Branch wonders if there is some limit inherent in the yielding of information gathered in secret. They can't give it all away, even to one of their own, someone pledged to confidentiality."

What makes DeLillo so important is his repeated exercise in teaching us how to read and reread. A constant media watchdog, he teaches us to be on guard against the easy truth fix, the dogma or propaganda that's too unrealistically simple. *Libra* is the perfect antidote for an event invested with hysterical denial. Americans have an ideological stake in not knowing about the assassination. We need to stay drugged into a state of apathy since a real conspiracy might undermine the foundations of our collective democratic self. DeLillo is a true democratic novelist in performing the national service that lets us know substantially more.

John O'Kane is editor of the literary quarterly *Enclitic*.



**Reign of Error: The Inside Story of John Turner's Troubled Leadership**

By Greg Weston  
McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited  
274 pp., \$25.95

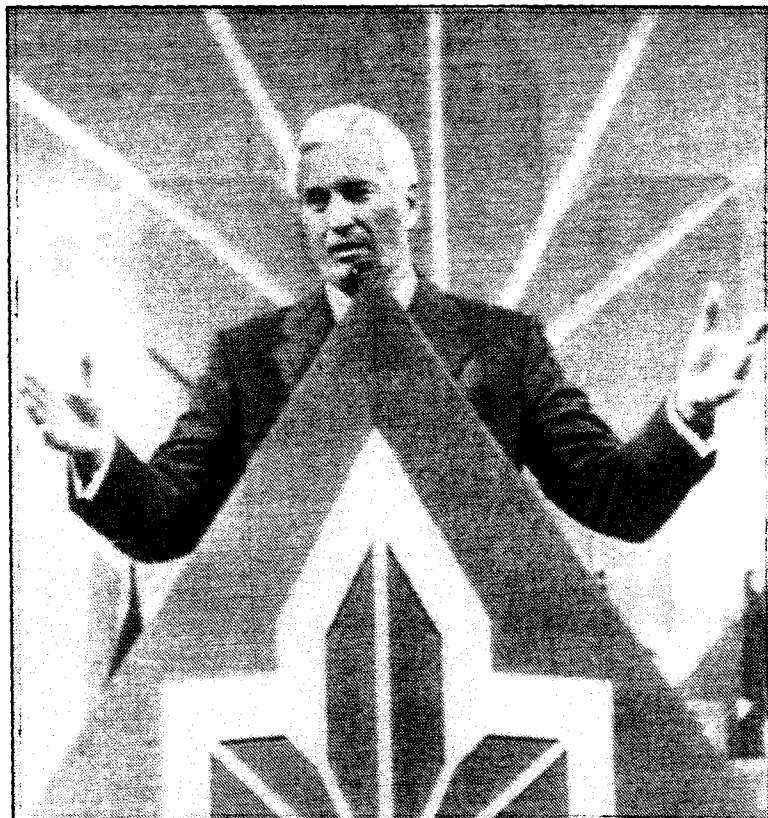
**Ed Broadbent:**

**The Pursuit of Power**

By Judy Steed  
Viking, Canada, 370 pp., \$24.95

By Doug Smith

# Canada's conundrum: the collapsing center



John Turner

IN 1984 UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF BRIAN Mulroney, a lawyer and the former president of the Iron Ore Company of Canada, the Conservative Party won its first majority government in Canada in three decades. Within a year Mulroney had destroyed most of the goodwill that had created that majority as scandal-prone ministers were forced to resign with comic-opera regularity.

Up until this spring it looked like Mulroney's would be a one-term government. But the Conservatives now hold a comfortable lead heading into a November 21 federal election. Two recent campaign biographies of Mulroney's leading opponents help explain why Canada's political center is falling apart.

"Ed Broadbent—very, very scary." That's the message the right-wing National Citizens' Coalition is spreading across Canada in a series of television, radio and newspaper ads. The genial leader of the New Democratic Party (NDP)—and Canada's most popular political leader—is being depicted as an enemy of private property, NATO and Canada's Senate.

But the right-wing lobby group has its work cut out for itself trying to convince anyone that Broadbent is threatening. In the past two years, as the social-democratic NDP broke through the 30 percent mark in public opinion polls—and for a brief period topped them—Broadbent has received increasing, and largely positive, attention from the national media. The most fulsome work in this vein is Toronto *Globe and Mail* feature writer Judy Steed's full-length biography *Ed Broadbent: The Pursuit of Power*.

**Moving to the mainstream:** At the book's outset Broadbent draws Steed's attention to the fact that he is the first Canadian-born NDP leader—a point he sees as significant. He also differs from previous NDP leaders Tommy Douglas and David Lewis in that he is not a visionary figure. Just as he does not scare anyone, he certainly does not inspire them. But the party strategy in the past decade has been to move from being a strong moral voice crying in the wilderness to becoming a normal political party that might win a majority of seats in a general election. Under Broadbent's leadership the party has moved into the Canadian mainstream—few people fret about the taint of communism before taking out an NDP membership.

Broadbent's career has been built on luck and durability. He was first elected to parliament in 1968 and

has been the leader of the NDP for the past 13 years. As Steed indicates, he got the job largely by default. He has worn well, however. In the electronic age, the fact that Broadbent's speeches sound like they are being delivered by a bulldog on speed has not hindered him; he has a casual joking manner in scrums and can deliver sound bites with the best of them.

As he has grown comfortable with the media, the public have come to accept Broadbent as another member of the electronic family. He is seen as an honest defender of the interests of ordinary Canadians. Steed's book does as good a job as can be done in making any politician sound like an appealing person—one comes away with the sense that Broadbent is a likable man with a taste for practical jokes and the good life.

For an elected official Broadbent is also remarkably cultured—he has an appreciation of the opera and is widely read. Not that this should be surprising since he took a Ph.D. in political philosophy and was a student of one of Canada's most renowned left-wing thinkers, C.B. MacPherson. In his academic work Broadbent applied MacPherson's critique of liberalism to the work of John Stuart Mill. Steed indicates that in the years before his death, MacPherson, while always a friend of Broadbent's, was disturbed by the NDP's continuing drift to the center as it sought to enter the mainstream.

And it is the success or failure of Broadbent's pursuit of power that will dictate the final judgment on his career. While he has faced no major challenges from the party's left wing, he has worked determinedly to transform the NDP into a party that, as he says, even the president of General Motors

might be willing to join. Yet if he fails to achieve a breakthrough in next month's election the party will be hard-pressed to revert to its role as national conscience.

**Past Liberal dominance:** Much of the credit for Broadbent's success must go the federal Liberal Party and its tremendously inept leader John Turner. The Liberals have held power for most of the century, instituting a piecemeal welfare state to keep the NDP at bay while allowing the national economy to be dominated by American capital.

Since the First World War the Liberals were the only party able to set down roots in the province

of Quebec, a fact that gave them a built-in lead in the polls. (Quebec is the home of 16 million of the nation's 26 million citizens.) The party's philosophy might be summed up in campaign strategist Keith Davey's maxim that time out of power is never time spent profitably.

And so in 1984, when Pierre

## CANADA

Trudeau resigned, Davey was one of those Liberals who supported John Turner's bid for the party's leadership. Davey did this despite the fact that Turner had resigned as finance minister in the mid-'70s to practice corporate law, using the corporate boardrooms as the launching pad for his attacks on his former colleagues. Turner may have been to the right of the party's caucus and membership on most issues, but he was definitely in the right place in the polls—number one.

So he became the leader, and briefly prime minister, in the summer of 1984. He was backed by a party that had no particular affection for him or loyalty to his vision (not that there was much of a vision), but which was convinced his athletic looks and no-nonsense style would keep the party in office. Instead, Turner lead the Liberals into the wilderness, losing close to a hundred seats in that year's federal election. And despite the fact that the Conservative government of Mulroney has stumbled and staggered from crisis to controversy for the past four years, Turner remains the country's least respected leader, and his party is in danger of slipping into third place.

**Embellishments of style:** Greg Weston's new book on Turner has generated considerable con-

troversy. Some object to his novelistic techniques—the reader is forever being told what was running through someone's mind, and reconstructed dialogue is presented as if Weston had been a fly on the wall. Some reviewers say there is nothing new in the book, but that is only true for those who drink in the national gossip with their morning orange juice. And Turner doesn't like the shrewish portrayal of his wife.

According to Weston, John Turner is high-strung, impressionable, right wing but willing to be left wing if that is what it takes to get elected, not as capable an administrator as he likes to think, short-tempered and largely out of touch with contemporary society. The allegations may well be true. The sad part is that this is what contemporary political journalism has come to. Certainly it is interesting to find out how much it has cost the taxpayer to renovate Turner's home, but why doesn't the author include any discussion of the way, as finance minister, Turner really socked it to the taxpayer?

In his introduction, Weston says *Reign of Error* is meant to simply tell a story—"the analysis and commentary" he leaves to those better qualified. Which makes the book little more than a contribution to the dumb man—and even dumber party—school of history. How the country's most successful political machine chose so incompetent a leader, and having done so, failed to ditch him, is likely a far more dark and mysterious story than Weston tells. But as a skeptical reading of Judy Steed's book suggests, the destruction of the Liberal Party will not necessarily leave Canada without a party of the center.

Doug Smith is a Winnipeg journalist and broadcaster.

## NOTEBOOK

**Shapinsky's Karma, Bogg's Bills, and Other True-life Tales**

By Lawrence Weschler  
North Point Press  
260 pp., \$17.95

The unmarked intersection between art and commerce has long been a dangerous cross-road for artists. But the inevitable collisions can sometimes be happy accidents, as is demonstrated in Lawrence Weschler's latest collection, *Shapinsky's Karma, Bogg's Bills*. Culled from the *New Yorker*—where Weschler is a staff writer—and other publications, these sprawling amiable profiles manage to focus on the personal while illuminating the sometimes esoteric machinations of the art world.

"Shapinsky's Karma" tells the unlikely tale of Akumal Ramachander, a young man from India who discovers that his fate is promoting the unknown

American abstract expressionist painter, Harold Shapinsky. Incredibly, Akumal's enthusiasm gets the art world tumbling like dominoes for Shapinsky. Weschler rides the wave of Akumal's energy, and while not minimizing Shapinsky's aesthetic merit, he sets the painter's work within the context of the ballooning art market. With the inflated prices of masterpieces on auction in recent years a bubble had risen in the speculative art commodity market pushing prices up across the board. Only time will tell if the ruling metaphor for Shapinsky will be the capitalist bursting bubble or the Karmic bumpersticker: What goes around comes around.

Weschler fills out his collection with pieces on Holocaust comic book author Art Spiegelman, Danish cheese-magnate-cum-museum-director Knud Jensen, failed literary bookstore

owner Leonard Durso and modern music booster/smirking prankster Nicolas Slonimsky.

But in "Bogg's Bills" Weschler most directly confronts the cross-wiring between the valued abstractions of art and the abstractions of commercial value. Stephen Boggs is literally a money artist: his work consists of drawing currency and trading his well-rendered bills at face value for goods or services. Boggs sees his art, however, as the entire transaction, and indeed when sold for big bucks in galleries, his "work" includes receipts and change from the "sale." By calling attention to the process, he suggests that any purchase may in effect be a performance. Weschler's reporting on Boggs' trial for counterfeiting in England is a deft transaction in itself—transubstantiating an ephemeral conceptual web into a down-to-earth story of lasting value.

—Jeff Reid



# Kiefer

Continued from page 13

Hitler's ineradicable legacy—the debasement of old symbols to serve modern-day evil.

Kiefer's representations of nature as a cipher for the fallen state of humanity in the face of the Holocaust take their cue from one of his most significant influences—the poems of Paul Celan. In 1945 Paul Celan stepped out of the ashes of European Jewry with one overriding message: no word, no belief, no form of expression could ever be the same again. Only a worldwide reawakening of the spirit could redeem humankind from the moral devastation of the past and give the values of this world their former meaning again. Celan's is the poetry of grief, of immeasurable, senseless and utterly overwhelming loss, underscored by his utter disillusionment with the postwar world. Like Kiefer, he is compelled to address chaos and annihilation. Not to offer answers, but to face these demons with open eyes.

For Celan, there was never to be a redemption. In the early '70s the profoundly alienated and psychologically defeated survivor from Romania took his own life. Tellingly he chose to write in the language of his tormentors even though he could barely bring himself to speak German or set foot in Germany. Thus it's all the more ironic—and encouraging—that it is a German artist who has chosen to carry forward Celan's vision of redemption, forming a series of striking parallels between the treatment of this theme through two media. One of Kiefer's principle achievements has been to take Celan's overriding message—that the devastations of the Nazi

era must force us to look upon everything with different eyes—and to apply it with stunning insight to his own culture.

**A universe of symbolism:** Kiefer's artworks are steeped in Celan's symbolism and ideals. The painter's allusions to the poet's presence in his work are by no means coy. At least a half-dozen paintings bear titles borrowed from elements of Celan's *Death Fugue* alone. Another similarity can be found in the critic Heinz Georg Kaern's judgment of Celan's poetry: "Every noun has an encoded meaning, every complex sentence, every metaphor stands for an abstract conception."

In painterly terms, much the same can be said for Kiefer. Seldom has an artist affixed such a fully realized universe of symbolic references to his work. Kiefer painted several canvases that concern the two characters named in *Death Fugue*. Margarete is the wife of an Auschwitz guard, the personification of the Aryan ideal—as well as a direct reference to the idealized woman of Goethe's *Faust*. Sulamith is described as ashen-haired, an allusion to the fate of the Jews in the death camps. The degree to which the Holocaust has been embedded in our consciousness is indicated in a simple, almost abstract canvas entitled *Your Golden Hair, Margarete*. Depicting a bleak field made of a series of a diagonal lines leading through an archway of straw, this simple geometric placement evokes the train tracks at Auschwitz beneath the notorious arch emblazoned with the words "Arbeit Macht Frei."

Many of Kiefer's watercolors and oil paintings depict Nazi architecture. One such work, entitled *Shulamite*, reveals a massive hall resembling a crematorium that was ac-

tually designed by Nazi architect Wilhelm Kreis as the Funeral Hall For German Soldiers. It has been covered in soot, suggesting a nation besmirched by the ashes of its victims. Moreover, it speaks of the moral imperative to demolish the vestiges of Nazi propaganda, to repossess the past, to purge the German soul and to at long last form a society capable of truly identifying with the suffering of others, capable of a conscience as broad as her moral failings.

A similar treatment is given Kiefer's winged palette, an image he uses repeatedly to symbolize the promise of art to reshape the world around and within us. Placing this image of the winged palette inside various Nazi buildings as a memorial to Hitler's victims, including its oppressed artists, he attempts a symbolic rehabilitation, the manipulation of a shameful legacy to reconcile modern Germans with the burden of their nation's past.

Raised in the Odenwald and Schwarzwald regions, Kiefer is impressively adept at capturing the lyrical, melancholy beauty of Germany's myth-laden woods. His canvases are literally covered with materials borrowed from nature, caked with clay or swaths of wheat, along with burlap, sand, latex, wood and metals.

**Spiritual in the material:** As Rosenthal notes, "His integration of tangible substances with photographed or painted images at once unites means, subject, and content into an intensely physical presence." His fascination with alchemy, especially the spiritual theories that accompany it, find expression in the way he manipulates these diverse elements. "He subjected paintings to burning and melting, exploring the physical-cum-spiritual character of his materials. The canvas became a fetishistic object for this alchemist-painter, from which a New World could emerge," Rosenthal observes.

In the constant renewal of nature we find promise of this new world and of our own rebirth. It is a cycle of creation and regeneration embraced by almost every mythic tradition. But Kiefer's insertion of mythic elements into his evaluation of real events is not so clearly life-affirming. Both nature and myth are mirrors of the human condition and to idealize them is to lose one's perspective of that condition, he seems to say. Indeed, art should play the role of myth for modern civilization, he suggests. Kiefer has also proposed that the artist should attempt to eliminate nature, replacing it with his own vision. Confronting the German Romantic tradition head-on, Kiefer's depictions of nature underscore his apparent conviction that the artist's role is not to revere nature as a realm somehow apart from our own state, but to judge it as part and parcel of human events.

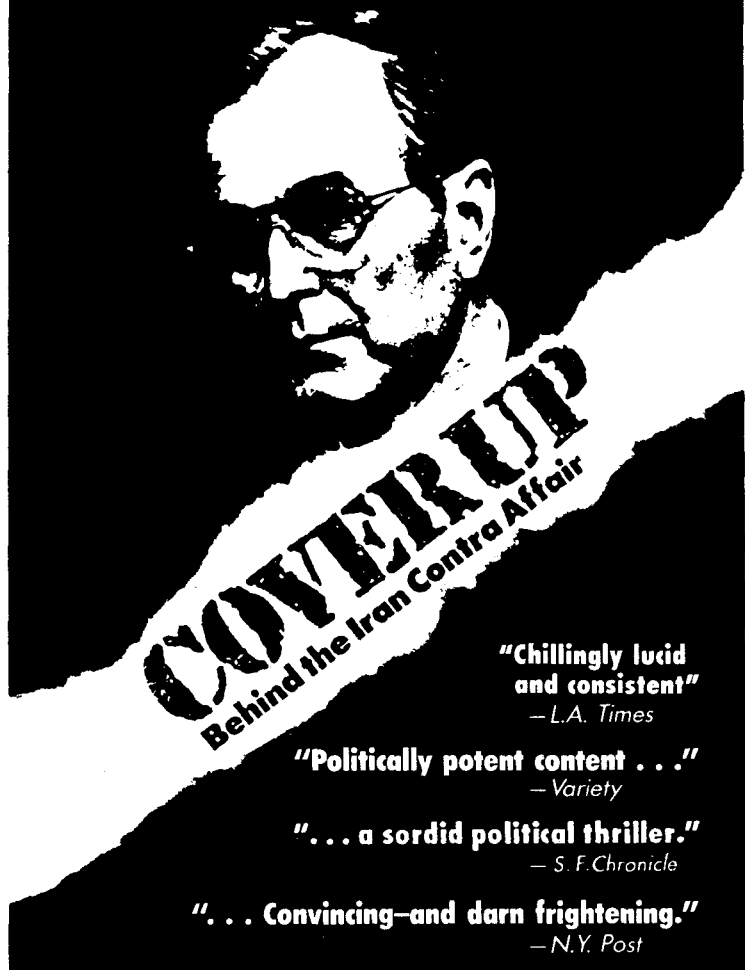
The unease and ambivalence with which Kiefer approaches his subjects applies as well to his judgment of the role of an artist. The winged palette he uses as a symbol for art is repeatedly identified with Icarus. It's an apt analogy. The artist, like the mythical character, attempts on some level to escape earthbound restraints.

But Icarus' flight ends in death, and from that tragedy generation after generation has been taught a moral lesson. To identify with this doomed figure would seem then to cast doubts upon the course of one's own efforts. If he really accepts his assertion that art has the capacity to alter history, to transform humankind, then he must also concede that the failure of art to do so can have disastrous consequences in a world that has lost its moral compass.

**Stephen London**, a writer living in California, studied the writings of Paul Celan in West Germany on a Fulbright Scholarship.

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## Debate

Continued from page 24

out there don't agree, George. I bet they find you out of the mainstream.

**Ann Compton:** Vice President Bush, if the budget had to be cut, where would you do the cutting?

**Bush:** Well, geez, I've answered this before. I want flexibility. I want things turned back to the people. I see a thousand points of light, radiating everywhere through our great land, and that's what I'm talking about. You should go out sometime and see the thousand points of life—er, I mean light.

**Dukakis:** A thousand points of light. A thousand points of light. What are those, George? No one knows quite how to interpret this hallucination you keep referring to, but I'll tell you: everyone thinks it's extremely silly, it means nothing, it has nothing to do with the economy, health care, education or social justice, and people think it's one of the dippiest slogans they've ever heard. So, voters, whenever you hear this phrase, "A thousand points of light," just think "Earth to George, Earth to George, Where are you, George?"

**Ann Compton:** Governor Dukakis, who are your heroes?

**Dukakis:** As a politician, my heroes are those leaders who fought for the rights of the have-nots in this country, people who fought for economic equality and social justice. Certainly FDR is a hero. Martin Luther King is a hero. These are men who made a difference in the lives of millions of people. But there are women heroes, too, like

Frances Perkins, the first woman member of the Cabinet, and the best secretary of labor we ever had. Because of Perkins, people are now protected by Social Security and unemployment insurance. Rosa Parks, who refused to be treated as a second-class citizen, who refused to give up her seat in the whites-only front of the bus, she is a hero. These are the kinds of people who inspire us all, because of their courage, their convictions, and their willingness to fight the privileged and the bigoted who would, if they had their way, exclude as many people as possible from the American Dream.

\* \* \*

I know, I know, this isn't exactly what Eugene Debs or Emma Goldman would have said, but, hey, it ain't "tough choices" or "Heroes, heroes? Gee, how about Jonas Salk?" either. While Democrats may be reluctant to embrace the more progressive proposals of Jesse Jackson's campaign, fearing that some of these policies would alienate certain voters, they must also stop running away from the party's liberal heritage and from the word liberal itself.

Dukakis' flight from liberalism has left huge sectors of the population frustrated, alienated and feeling as though they have no voice or stake in the election. Worse, his flight has abdicated the middle ground of political discourse, leaving it for Bush and his right-wing advisers to reshape along highly conservative and dangerous contours.

**Susan J. Douglas** writes frequently for *In These Times*, but is willing to give all that up for a \$1,000-per-day consulting job.



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## CLASSIFIEDS

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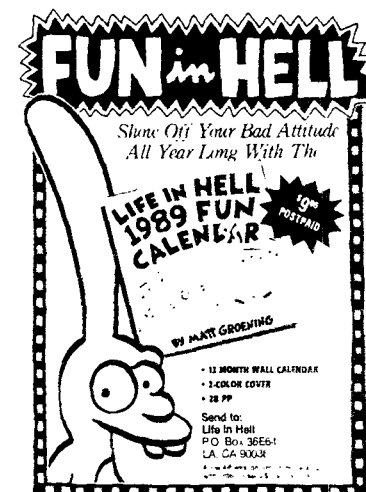
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### LIFE IN HELL

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THAT'S RIGHT! YOUR PARENTS WENT THROUGH HELL WHEN THEY WERE GROWING UP-- AND THEY THOUGHT THEY DESERVED IT!!

AND THEY PROBABLY EVEN FORGOT HOW CLUMMY THEIR CHILDHOODS WERE. IT WOULD BE TOO PAINFUL FOR THEM TO REMEMBER THE TRUTH.

WHICH SPELLS TROUBLE FOR YOU, MAN.

#### IF THEY LOVE YOU SO MUCH, HOW COME THEY DO SUCH MEAN STUFF TO YOU?

BECAUSE MEAN STUFF IS CONSIDERED NORMAL. MOST PEOPLE IN THE WORLD WERE TREATED BADLY WHEN THEY WERE KIDS-- BEATEN, SPANKED, BELITTLED, RIDICULED, AND CONTROLLED. IT'S LIKE A GIANT GAME OF "PASS IT ALONG."

ALL THIS PUNISHMENT AND DISCIPLINE AND RESPECT STUFF IS TOTAL JIVE-ASS BALONEY. INSULTS TEACH HOW TO INSULT, HUMILIATION TEACHES HOW TO HUMILIATE, PUNISHMENT TEACHES HOW TO PUNISH. DEPRESSING, AIN'T IT?

#### HOW DO YOU COPE WITH PROBLEM PARENTS?

1. LEARN TO READ THEIR MOODS. TRY NOT TO BUG THEM WHEN YOU CAN SENSE THEY MAY GO CRAZY.
2. WHEN THEY DO GO CRAZY AND START MISTREATING YOU, TRY TO REMEMBER HOW THEY WERE MISTREATED WHEN THEY WERE DOOR LITTLE KIDS. THIS MAY NOT HELP MUCH, BUT IT'S BETTER THAN NOTHING.
3. WHEN THEY SAY:

YOU'LL NEVER AMOUNT TO ANYTHING, YOU KNOW.

HERE COMES LITTLE CLUMSY AGAIN.

HOW STUPID ARE YOU, ANYWAY?

TRY TO REMEMBER: IT'S THEIR PROBLEM, NOT YOURS. YOU'LL ESCAPE SOME DAY.

#### IS THERE ANYTHING YOU CAN DO TO STOP THEM FROM BEING PROBLEM PARENTS?

NOT REALLY. YOU CAN TRY TO GET THEM TO REMEMBER WHAT IT WAS LIKE WHEN THEY WERE ABUSED, PUNISHED AND FRIGHTENED.

BUT BE PREPARED TO RUN LIKE HELL.

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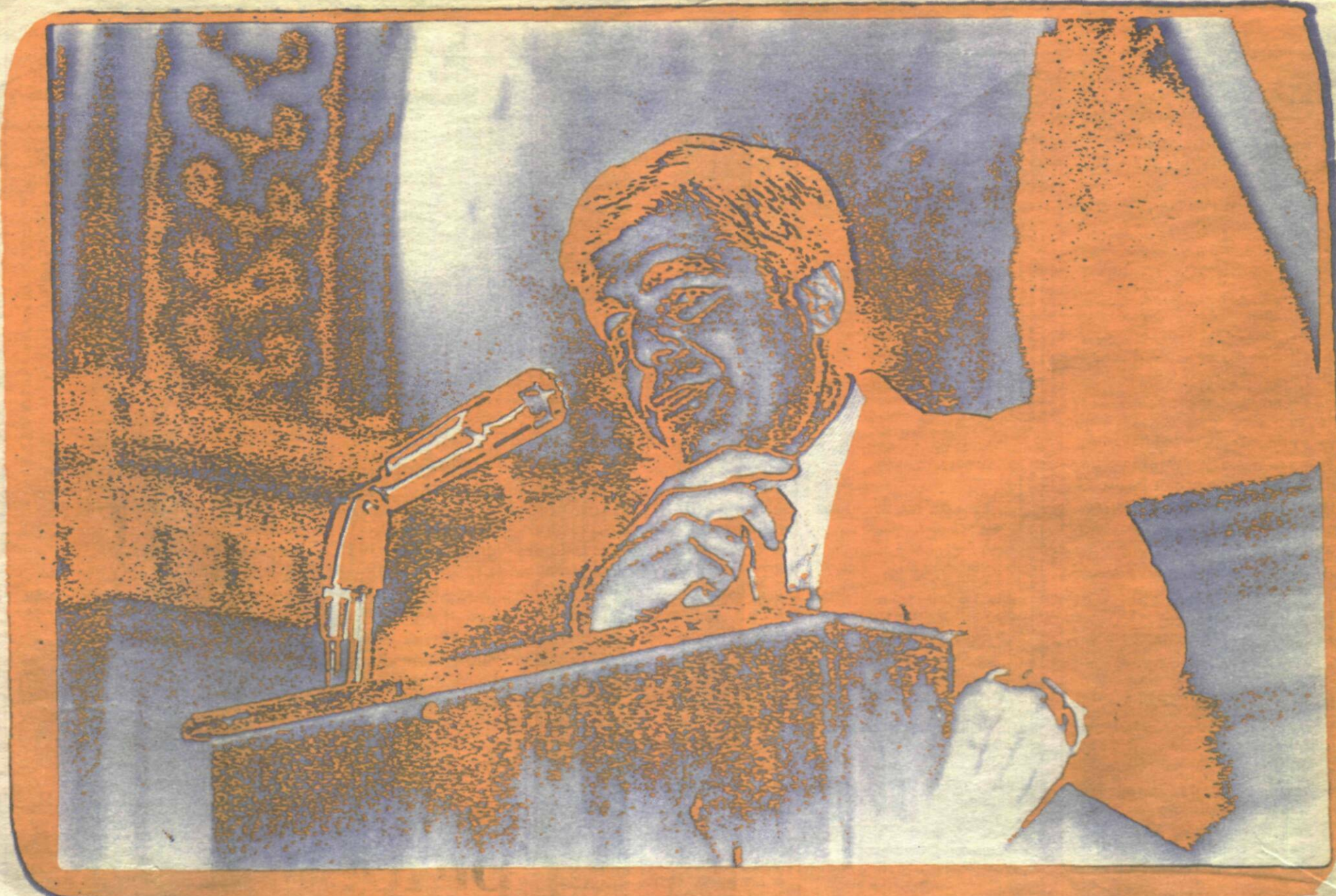
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# What he should have said was...

By Susan J. Douglas

**D**ON'T KNOW ABOUT YOU, BUT I'VE HAD IT. I can't take any more Democratic campaigns like the one we've just witnessed. And I thought "Where's the Beef" was as lame as the Democrats could get! Can Michael Dukakis really have spent a gazillion dollars on media consultants and "handlers" to come up with that debate performance, not to mention the TV ads about how young fathers worry sometimes, so vote for Mike? We can't go on like this.

I have no choice—I'm declaring my candidacy for 1992. No, no—not for president; for highly paid media consultant to the Democrats. If the Republicans are going to paint neo-con technoweenies and their Madison Avenue ad people as flaming pinko liberals, then we might as well get the genuine article in there running the campaign. I say, let's get a pissed-off feminist bitch from hell out there on the campaign trail. I'm immensely qualified for the job of chief media poobah: I have a blow-dryer and I've watched a great deal of television.

Most importantly, after watching the latest debate, I know that I, and pretty much everyone I know, would have done a better job than the Duke. Weren't you sitting there, like me, writhing in vicarious embarrassment, screaming at him to say something, anything, instead of that "tough choices" pap? Dukakis' failure wasn't just the failure to perform well in one media event: it was a failure of much greater magnitude and with more long-term, corrosive effects. By not responding to Bush's repeated attacks on liberalism, Dukakis allowed the Republicans to

continue pushing public discourse to the right of majority opinion and to define the middle ground in conservative terms.

I can't stand having Dukakis' responses to Bush stand without qualification, and I know others can't either. In fact, Dukakis' performance has evoked what I call the ventriloquist impulse—the widespread desire, felt by millions of debate viewers, to work the Duke's mouth for him and confront Bush's Orwellian doublespeak head on.

I am not immune to the impulse. So, in my first move as candidate for head media consultant in 1992, I will lay out how I think the Duke—or any sentient human—should have responded to a few key questions. Here are the responses I would have insisted the candidate make, given the constraints of mainstream political discourse in this country. The responses are vague yet forceful, strong without detailing any policy strategies. And they give a few more nods to the women without being too, you know, feminist.

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**Bernard Shaw:** Governor Dukakis, if your wife Kitty were raped and murdered, would you favor an irrevocable death penalty for the killer?

**Dukakis:** Bernard, what you're asking me is whether it is advisable or sensible to base public policy on very intense, personal, often primitive gut reactions. As you know, my wife and I are very close, and my gut reaction would be to tear the guy apart with my bare hands. But aren't these the very instincts we can't act on that must be contained? Are these the instincts on which we can build a civilized society dedicated to social justice? Does my desire for revenge

make it OK to murder again? If the state kills this murderer, does it guarantee that other such murders will decrease?

I think not. In fact, all of the evidence accumulated from dozens of studies over the past several decades clearly demonstrates that capital punishment is not a deterrent. State policies built only on rage and revenge do not work. A society built on rage and revenge cannot be just or civilized. But I must also add, Bernard, that I am here to discuss policy issues, not to imagine my wife being placed in some unspeakable circumstance, and I find the use of my wife in this example to be extremely tasteless and insensitive to her, to our children and to me.

**Margaret Warner:** Vice President Bush, hasn't this campaign gotten a bit dirty? Would your father be proud of you if he saw the campaign you were running? Isn't this one of the worst campaigns in history?

**Bush:** Hey, geez, I didn't start this. First there was that...that...that...lady [gestures around his head to indicate outlandish hairdo] at the Democratic Convention. These ultraliberals started it. And I can't very well let Governor Dukakis go through this campaign without explaining some of these very liberal positions. He's the one who said, "I am a progressive liberal Democrat." He's the card-carrying member of the ACLU. He's far to the left of the American people with his ultraliberal positions, and it's up to me to point out just how liberal he is.

**Dukakis:** Well, George, to quote from another seasoned politician, there you go again. Liberal, liberal, liberal. You sound like a kid in a schoolyard calling someone names. You're fix-

ated on this word liberal, and you want to turn it into a dirty word. You want to pretend that most Americans are opposed to liberalism. But you can't. You know why?

Because of what liberal really means. Open a Webster's Dictionary sometime. Liberal means tolerant, broad-minded, marked by generosity—all very admirable and very American traits. Greed, intolerance and special privilege—the bosom buddies of conservatives—are the sworn enemies of liberals. Every piece of important social legislation in this century, legislation that currently benefits millions of Americans, was pushed through by liberals, despite the objections of conservatives like yourself.

Social Security—you wouldn't have that without liberals. Civil rights legislation—you wouldn't have it without liberals. The Environmental Protection Act—ditto. So, if being a liberal means insisting that a country as rich as ours cannot tolerate homelessness, polluted water and air, or serving schoolchildren ketchup as a vegetable, then, yes, I'm a liberal. If being a liberal means NOT consorting with drug-running thugs like Noriega then, yes, I'm a liberal. If being a liberal means putting a stop to the widespread corruption in the Pentagon and the defense industry, and using the money that now goes to crooks to improve American education, daycare and health care then, yes, I'm a liberal.

Read my lips, George: being a liberal means having a conscience. FDR, Truman, Kennedy: they were all liberals, and they are presidents Americans hold in the highest esteem. And by the way, George, I find your reference to Ann Richards, the keynote speaker at the Democratic Convention, sexist and insulting. It really should be beneath you to try to ridicule an accomplished woman politician, especially one from your own state, Texas, here on television, in front of millions of women voters. You act as if women don't belong in politics. I bet the women voters

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